WWII

CAEN, 1944
The battle that broke the Wehrmacht in Normandy

WWII

CAGED NAZIS
First-hand testimony from Spandau Prison

WWI

LUDENDORFF
Imperial Germany's flawed military giant

MILITARY HISTORY

www.military-history.org

MONTHLY

June 2013 | Issue 33 | £3.95

MALPLAQUET, 1709

FIGHTING FOR MARLBOROUGH

How the Redcoats out-gunned the French

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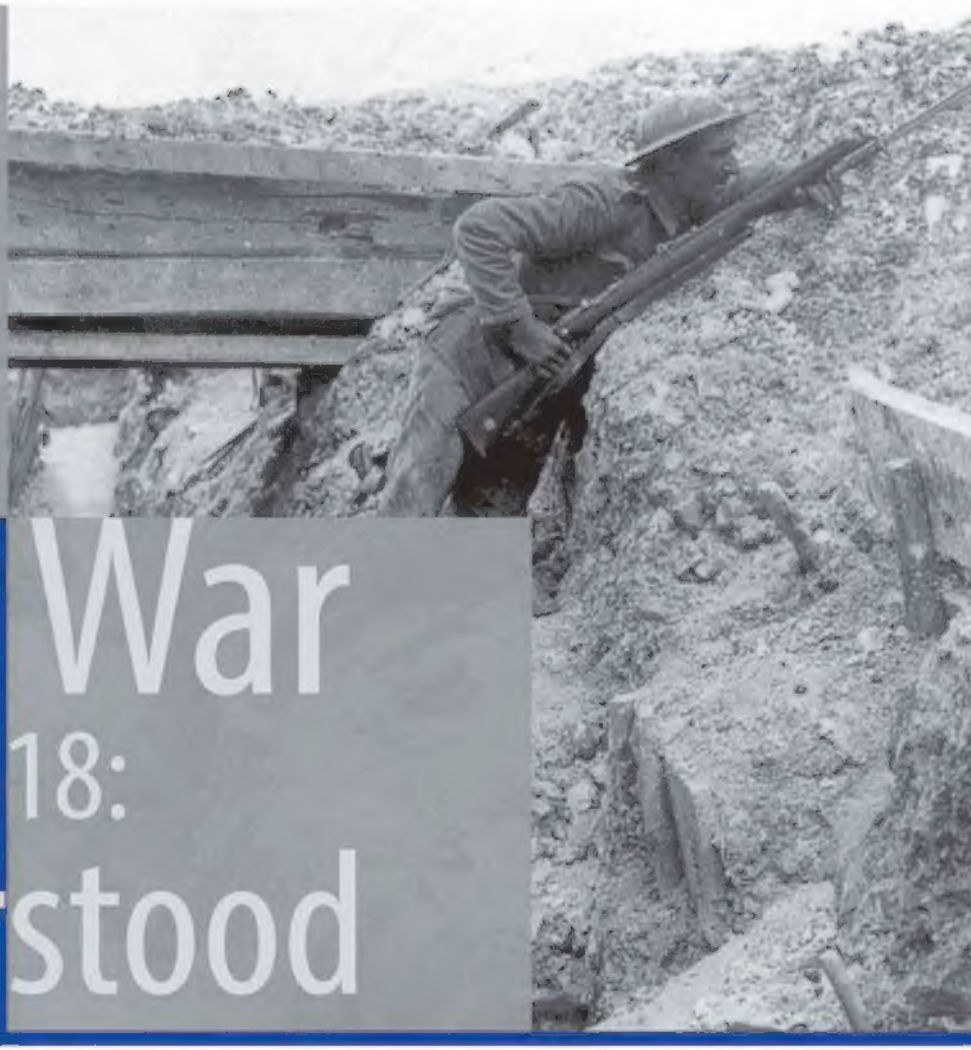
The Western Front Association

founded 1980



the Great War 1914-18: understood

The Somme battles of 1916 translated from the heady optimism prior to 1 July, through mechanised slaughter and great heroism, to the slow grinding down of a resolute German enemy. Kitchener's New Armies learned a bloody but vital lesson until November, when the weather and the Somme mud defeated friend and foe alike.

The Great War is a fascinating subject, with a complex blend of military, social, science, political and economic history. To understand much more about the 1914-18 period, and to appreciate the contexts in which the Somme Battles were fought, **join us at The Western Front Association.**

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understanding the Great War 1914-18: explore | learn | share
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ON THE COVER:
'Marlborough Leading the Attack', an illustration from *Glorious Battles of English History.*

Photo Bridgeman Art Library

Welcome

By Dr Neil Faulkner

Gettysburg, the greatest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere, took place 150 years ago this summer. To mark the anniversary, Julian Brazier, former soldier, politician, and expert on the American Civil War, starts a four-part series this issue.

Julian offers a blow-by-blow analysis of the campaign and the battle, detailing the calculations of the commanders, the movements of the armies, and the clash of arms.

The tension was electric in those critical days of late June/early July 1863 as the armies manoeuvred in the summer sunshine of backcountry Pennsylvania. A Southern victory would have opened the way to Washington, and could well have broken the Northern people's will to fight. The United States might have been permanently sundered, and slavery might have endured on the North American continent.

Gettysburg created modern America. The American Revolution had severed the tie with Britain, and founded a new, eager, independent republic. But it left unfinished business and deep divisions that made the proud claim that 'all men are created equal' a lie. It took the American Civil War to complete the work of the Revolution.

Also this issue, we have the second in our new occasional series looking at frontline combat experience. This month we hear the testimony of one of Marlborough's infantry officers. What was it like to face massed, close-range musketry in 1709?

On the World Wars, we have Graham Goodlad's assessment of Erich Ludendorff, the military brain behind Imperial Germany's stormtrooper offensive of spring 1918; our own analysis of the Battle of Caen, the penultimate instalment in the British Battles series; and an intriguing article by military historian Adrian Greaves, who, as a young post-war officer, guarded three top Nazis in Spandau Prison, and formed a close relationship with Albert Speer.

Neil Faulkner.

Who we are:

Military History Monthly aims to cover conflict on land, at sea, and in the air through all periods of history, with expert commentary written in an intelligent and accessible way.

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Let us know what you think...

We would love to hear your opinions on this issue of the magazine. What are your favourite bits? What should we cover next issue? You can give us your feedback:

By Post:
Military History Monthly
Lamb House
Church Street
London W4 2PD

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020 8819 5580

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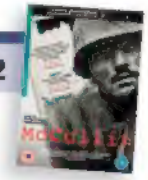

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EDITORIAL
Editor: Neil Faulkner
neil@military-history.org

Assistant Editor: George Clode
george@military-history.org

Editor-at-large: Andrew Selkirk
andrew@military-history.org

Sub Editor: Simon Coppock

Art Editor: Mark Edwards
mark@currentpublishing.com

Designer: Justine Middleton
justine@currentpublishing.com

Managing Director: Rob Selkirk

Lamb House, Church Street, London, W4 2PD
Tel: 020 8819 5580

COMMERCIAL
Advertising Sales Manager: Mike Traylen
T: 020 8819 5360 **E:** mike@currentpublishing.com

Advertising Sales: Grace Biggins
T: 020 8819 5361 **E:** grace@currentpublishing.com

Marketing Manager: Emma Watts-Plumpkin
T: 020 8819 5575 **E:** emma@currentpublishing.com

Production Manager: Maria Earle
T: 020 8819 5587 **E:** maria@currentpublishing.com

Commercial Director: Libby Selkirk

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DISPATCHES

Our round-up of this month's military history news stories.

MESSINES MODEL EXCAVATION

A large concrete model on Cannock Chase in Staffordshire, representing a section of the Great War Battle of Messines Ridge, is to be excavated.

The terrain model represents the section of the front captured by New Zealand troops during the 1917 battle near Ypres. It was built at Brocton camp, which, along with the camp at Rugeley, formed a large training area across Cannock Chase for British troops during WWI.

From late September 1917, New Zealand troops were transferred to Brocton, which became a permanent training base for the reinforcements. The remnants of the camps, as well as training trenches and what are believed to be the best-preserved remains of a German prisoner-of-war camp, survive as some of the most complete Great War archaeology in the country.

The camps on Cannock Chase were slowly dismantled and auctioned off after the last New Zealand soldiers left for home in May 1919. One permanent fixture that survived the sales was the Messines model, which was entrusted to the people of Stafford during a ceremony to bid farewell to the New Zealanders.

The model was constructed in 1918 by men from the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, using German labour from the nearby prisoner-of-war camp. The use of trench maps and aerial photographs ensured the concrete model had a high degree of accuracy: trenches, strong points, railways, roads, and buildings were all represented. The model was used to train soldiers in topography, and to show how an impeccably planned battle could be won with minimal casualties.

One feature, believed to be a 'viewing platform' around three sides of the model, still exists. Some exploratory work has already been undertaken at the site, and a full excavation is planned for late 2013. The work will involve the careful excavation, recording, and reburial of the Messines model. Experts from the county will be working closely with their colleagues to ensure the site is protected as it is excavated, minimising any damage to the surrounding wildlife and habitat.

Visitors will be able to experience an actual replica and/or a digital representation of the model, which will help explain how such models were used to prepare troops for battle. Staffordshire County Council has already rescued and rebuilt one of the original huts from the camp, which is currently situated at Marquis Drive. Part of the hut has been laid out as a barrack hut, with beds and soldiers' personal effects. The rest has information about life in the camps, the exploratory excavations of the Messines model, and a large tabletop model of the area.

Staffordshire County Councillor Pat Corfield, Cabinet Member for Culture and Communities, said of the project, 'As we approach the centenary of the start of the First World War in 2014, it is essential we continue to teach future generations about the legacy of the conflict. We must never forget the great sacrifices made, and this exciting excavation project will help achieve that, and showcase Staffordshire's role in the First World War.'

FLODDEN FIND

Chris Burgess, Archaeology Manager for the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum, has revealed a key find from the site of the Battle of Flodden. A crown-shaped artefact, it is thought to have been a livery badge worn by a soldier in the personal retinue of the Scottish king, James IV.

Made of copper alloy, the badge appears to have snapped off a hat-band. Its design includes the fleur-de-lys, with jewels and diamonds, all elements known to have been part of the Scottish crown design in 1513.

It was only by chance that the artefact was discovered after having been buried for five centuries. As Chris explains, 'This latest artefact was quite literally found on the very last day of our last survey on the western side of the battlefield. Having examined it thoroughly, we are beginning to understand its importance. The crown depicted on the badge is quite distinctly associated with the 16th-century Scottish crown. Badges such as these showed allegiance on the battlefield, and this one would only have been worn by someone directly connected with James IV himself. Our current thinking is that it may have been worn by a herald or messenger taking his royal instructions to the Scottish right flank, commanded by the Earls of Home and Huntley.'

Now the artefact has been revealed it will be formally reported to Dr Robert Collins, the Finds Liaison Officer in Newcastle, for further assessment and analysis. If deemed to be 'Treasure Trove', it will be subject to a coroner's report, and may also be passed to the British Museum for further research.

The last great Medieval battle, Flodden was a turning point in the history of Britain, setting the stage for the subsequent Union of the Crowns between Scotland and England. Through excavations, Chris – along with a growing team of volunteers – hopes to pinpoint the exact location of the battle itself.

The Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum, the UK's first cross-border museum, links 12 key sites and numerous community events. This archaeological programme is part of the wider project to commemorate the 500th anniversary this year of the historic battle.

Chris concludes: 'The Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum is a great opportunity to strengthen cross-border relations. Finding artefacts like this helps us gain better understanding of the battle and how the events unfolded. It's important to remember, this is not just a date in the history books, it is an event which changed the future of thousands of individuals and families, and knowing more will help us to remember the dead on both sides.'

NEWS IN BRIEF

TEA WITH A VETERAN

Visitors to this summer's Royal International Air Tattoo will have the opportunity to enjoy some teatime treats courtesy of one of the unsung heroines of WWII and a popular TV presenter.

The airshow is inviting guests in its new Spitfire Lawn enclosure to join veteran Spitfire pilot Joy Lofthouse or BBC TV *Countryfile* presenter Adam Henson, both from the Cotswolds, for afternoon tea. Joy will be on the Spitfire Lawn on Saturday 20 July, and Adam on Sunday 21 July.

As a member of the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA) during WWII, Joy Lofthouse became one of the forgotten army of women who flew Spitfires to the front-line ready to join the action.

Joy said: 'I can't wait to see displays of some of the aircraft I flew during WWII, as well as their modern-day counterparts. When I learned the Air Tattoo had established a new Spitfire Lawn, I really wanted to be a part of it.'

STARTING GUN ON SHOW

The gun which fired the first shot of the war at sea in WWI was recently craned into place as part of the new £4.5 million 'HMS – Hear My Story' exhibition at the National Museum of the Royal Navy in Portsmouth Historic Dockyard. The 4-inch gun from the destroyer HMS *Lance* will be at the entrance to the new exhibition, which is due to open in spring 2014 as part of the national centenary commemorations for WWI.

This semi-automatic quick-firing naval gun – which weighs 3.6 tonnes, measures 5 metres, and could fire over 5 miles – has been loaned by the Imperial War Museum to be a key object in the 'HMS' exhibition.

Matthew Sheldon, the exhibition's Project Director, said: 'It is very exciting to be installing this iconic object. This gun will be the first thing our visitors see as they enter our new exhibition, and is a powerful way to start telling the story of the last 100 years of the Royal Navy.'

CHURCHILL'S SECRET ARMY TO RESURFACE

Over 70 years ago, many British civilians became part of one of the country's most secretive organisations. Up until now, there has never been any official recognition of the bravery and dedication of the Auxiliaries (in effect, the Special Forces of the Home Guard) because of the secrecy of their mission. This is something that the researchers at the Coleshill Auxiliary Research Team, the group behind the British Resistance Archive, have been campaigning to change.

As a result, the Royal British Legion has agreed that ex-members of the British Resistance, made up of the Auxiliary Units and the Special Duties Branch, should march past the Cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday. This means that veterans will be able to remember those they trained alongside, and that the British public will have the chance to thank them for their service.

HAVE YOUR SAY

Send your thoughts on issues raised in *Military History Monthly* to:

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HAIG'S MISTAKES

James Brett defends Douglas Haig's handling of the Somme but admits that 'it is easy to select specific examples to support a historian's viewpoint on almost any battle'. Nobody doubts that tackling a large body of the world's best-equipped and -trained soldiers entrenched in a formidable position was bound to be costly. The central charge against Haig and his subordinate generals is that they failed to apply military principles established in the previous half century, and even some much older ones.

By the middle of the American Civil War, attacks were conducted either behind a rolling barrage or – less commonly – before dawn without any bombardment. Pointing to a few British divisions which followed one of these approaches does not conceal the fact that French divisions on the Somme attacked behind rolling barrages and captured all their first-day objectives, while suffering proportionately far lower casualties than the British. Most of Haig's divisions used bombardment followed by a pause, allowing the enemy to emerge from cover and mow them down.

Concentration of force is an ancient principle. Yet Haig spread divisions over fronts of over half a mile each, despite being short of artillery. Using diversions to disguise intent is another old tactic, yet commanders to the north were forbidden by Haig to mount demonstrations, allowing the Germans to establish quickly where to concentrate their reserves once the assault had begun.

In several cases, dearly bought breakthroughs were wasted because of micro-management. When two divisions reached High Wood and found it virtually undefended, it took ten hours for HQ to first refuse and then allow them to advance. The opportunity was long gone.

However, Brett is exactly right in his comments on logistics and especially railways. The centrality of rail in modern war was understood from the outset in both the American Civil War and the Austro-Prussian War. It was also the backbone of the Schlieffen Plan. Unfortunately for Britain, the Secretary for War, Lord Kitchener, was a man whose record of brilliance on imperial battlefields masked an absolute inability to work with civilians, a fact exemplified by his arrogant dismissal of the Territorial Force.

Julian Brazier
Canterbury

TOO MANY REVISIONISTS TO BE IGNORED

I see Correlli Barnett has popped his head above the parapet again in support of the anti-revisionist historians. Surely now there are too many revisionists to be ignored?

His comments in 'Lords of War' (*MHM* 31) do not take into account three major factors. Firstly, nobody on either side, in any army, including the Germans, had any experience of this totally new type of warfare. Nobody had any idea of how to fight it. There were no textbooks and no von Clausewitzes to advise.

Secondly, the British Army consisted of decimated regulars and over two million briefly trained volunteers; Britain struggled to find not just an enlarged officer corps but the multitude of NCOs.

Thirdly, the main contributor to the disaster was the failure of artillery. They were not fully equipped with the right sorts of guns, a great many of the shells were duds, the wrong shells were used to cut the wire (which remained intact), German deep bunkers were not destroyed, and fire control was almost non-existent. The artillery did, however, learn their lessons in the Somme to eventually become the 'Queen of the battlefield' by 1918.

As for walking into the attack, any soldier will tell you that, with the equipment they had to carry, they would not be able to run very far. The generals were told that the artillery bombardment would cut the wire, kill all the Germans in the forward trenches, and inhibit counterattacks – so why not just walk in?

The article does great disservice to the generals, many of whom were good and brave soldiers, not sitting miles behind the front. Six were killed and nine wounded on the Somme. Over 200 were killed or wounded during the war.

Finally, though a disaster, the Somme

was the first step to developing the British Army into a formidable force, by adopting the all-arms battle with tanks, fire, and movement, aircraft-spotters and ground attack, better communications, and skilfully controlled artillery. So much so that in the Hundred Days Campaign of 1918, the British killed, wounded, and captured more enemy and captured more guns than the rest of the allies put together.

Michael Fawcett
Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne

ANTIETAM EXAGGERATED

The military aspects of your piece on the Battle of Antietam (*MHM* 31) were excellent. It is the political aspects of the article that are, to say the least, debateable. To describe Antietam as 'the battle that remade a nation', which 'decided the future of America', or as the 'pivotal moment in US history', is an exaggeration.

American Civil War buffs can argue indefinitely about the pivotal moment, and cases can be made for Gettysburg, the fall of Vicksburg, the appointment

of Grant as overall commander, the sacking of General Joseph Johnston leading to the fall of Atlanta, the defeat of John Bell Hood's campaign in Tennessee, the 1864 election result, and others. It was not one battle, but a succession of events that led to the eventual Union victory.

The Emancipation Proclamation was a great example of Lincoln's political nous, freeing as it did only those slaves in states still in rebellion, but saying nothing of the slaves in some Northern, particularly border, states where he was under political pressure. Full freedom came with the Thirteenth Amendment, dramatised brilliantly in Stephen Spielberg's latest movie. On a wider front, the proclamation probably killed forever any argument for recognition of the South by the European powers and by Britain in particular.

Derek Batten
Northamptonshire

COMMUNICATION IS KEY

It was good to see James Brett's opinion piece taking issue with the popular view that the British Army on the Somme was a case of 'lions led by donkeys'. He put his finger unerringly on what made the battle what it was. In this context it was also good to read the review of Correlli Barnett's excellent book, *The Lords of War*, particularly the reviewer's selection of this passage in the book: 'The fact is that the scapegoaters of Haig were, and are, intellectual cowards who shrink from confronting the intractable political and strategic dilemmas posed by the war'. Chief among the 'intellectual cowards' was the mendacious and duplicitous Lloyd George, and the military charlatan Liddell Hart.

To this day, many of Haig's detractors still fail to understand the command-and-control problems faced by all First World War commanders caused by the absence of portable battlefield radios.

Major-General Winfield Scott Hancock, commanding the US II Corps at Gettysburg, sitting on his horse behind the 'angle' at the centre of the Confederate objective, could see the battlefield laid out before him and react to events accordingly. A formation commander in the Second World War, and thereafter, could keep in touch by radio, even when he was on the move from one part of the battlefield to another. No First World War commander, even at battalion level, could influence the actions of those he commanded in battle like commanders in the Second World War or after, or in the American Civil War, and all wars before that.

DISAGREEING WITH HASTINGS

Having lived through the Second World War, I was interested to read Joe Tatton Brown's excellent article in your March issue ('Opinion', *MHM* 30).

Clearly it is equally, if not more, effective to take enemy forces prisoner rather than kill them, as well as being more humane. Does Max Hastings really think that the Western Allies restricted themselves to a marginal role in the war because the Russians killed a lot more Germans?

Clarissa Bewley
Midhurst

Anyone who does not understand, really understand, what a constraint this problem of communication alone places on a commander – putting aside all the other things that British, French, and German commanders found themselves facing for the first time in history – is not best placed to comment on command in the First World War.

Julian Thompson
London

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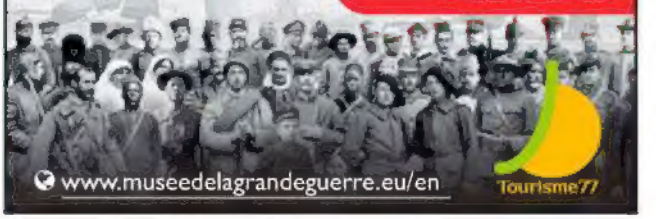

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ABTOT

IRAQ – NOT A MILITARY DISASTER

It takes more to occupy a country than just military efficiency, argues **Justin Huggler**.

Ten years on, it is clear that the invasion and occupation of Iraq was a disaster – but it was not a military disaster. This was a war that was lost not on the battlefield, but in the total collapse of everyday life in Iraq.

When I arrived in Baghdad as a reporter in the summer of 2003, the initial invasion had been a stunning success. But it was clear from the moment you crossed the border that things were not right. There were armed bandits on the road to Baghdad. The capital was terrifyingly lawless. If you forgot to lock your car doors, carjackers would get in at a red light, shoot you dead, and push your body out.

The US occupation administration had disbanded the Iraqi police, relying on bewildered American military patrols to police the city – a job they were not trained for, and were ill-suited to.

Amid the lawlessness, a huge quantity of weaponry disappeared from Iraqi Army stores, and was distributed among the insurgents. The borders were unsecured, and foreign fighters streamed in. Soon, soldiers from the US-led coalition were too busy fighting off insurgent attacks to do much about the lawlessness around them. Under American rule, Iraq was collapsing into anarchy.

The first clash between American soldiers and Iraqi civilians was in Fallujah, when locals demanded the reopening of a school that was being used as a base. Ordinary Iraqis wanted law and order, schools and hospitals, but the occupation was providing none for them.

Ten months after the invasion I found sewage dripping from leaking pipes and flooding the leukaemia ward in Iraq's biggest children's hospital. There was no fuel for generators and a severe shortage of medicine. No one from the occupation administration had even visited to enquire about the hospital's needs.

There is more to occupying a country than winning battles. The US was trying to run the civilian administration of Iraq with a staff of interns fresh out of university, and an overstretched and undermanned military force was being asked to shoulder the burden of an occupation that needed different resources.

The most visible sign of the failure of law and order was the hostage-taking crisis that began in 2004. The US was in control of Iraq, but it could not protect Westerners from being snatched off the streets and beheaded on video.

When the Americans decided to take action against Sunni insurgents in Fallujah, the bungling head of the civilian administration, Paul Bremer, provoked a simultaneous confrontation with the Shia. The military found itself facing a war on two fronts.

Even then it was able to prevail on the battlefield. The problem was that as soon as the battle ended, the relentless daily attacks resumed. The insurgents could not defeat the coalition troops in battle, but there was no need. They could make Iraq ungovernable for the Americans.

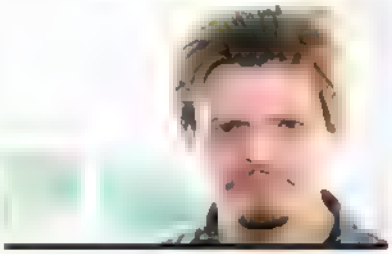
All the while the battle lines were being drawn for a civil war between Iraq's Sunni and Shia communities, both sides having become battle-hardened from fighting coalition troops. By the time the civil war broke out in earnest, all the Americans were looking for was an exit strategy.

Eventually US troops retreated into their bases. This left the streets to rival factions, who set up their own roadblocks, dragged people from their cars, and set about sectarian cleansing.

The US presided over a civil war it was powerless to prevent in a country it controlled. Its troops could defeat their enemies in battle, but it could not bring stability to Iraq, it could not impose law and order, and it failed to reconstruct the shattered country.

More than 100,000 civilians are believed to have been killed between the 2003 invasion and the withdrawal of combat troops in 2010, and around four million people forced from their homes by the civil war.

By any measure the American occupation of Iraq was a failure. And yet its military never suffered a serious defeat.



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Justin Huggler is a journalist, author, and former correspondent for the *Independent*. His first novel, *Burden of the Desert*, is available now (CreateSpace, £12.99).

IN THE SHADOW OF THE REICH

The human touch: stories of war and conflict from readers of *MHM*.

Susie Kearley is a freelance writer and military history enthusiast.

Top A watchtower on St Clement's Bay in Jersey, used during WWII. **Inset** The Jersey War Tunnels in St Lawrence. This is the entrance to the former German underground hospital, built during the Occupation.

Susie Kearley discusses the oppression of German-occupied Jersey with a man who lived through it.

Edouard Le Maistre grew up in Jersey in the Channel Islands while it was under German occupation during the Second World War. He remembers the enduring fear of German soldiers among people living in the countryside, and explains how those early years influenced his view of the world today.

'My upbringing during the Nazi occupation of Jersey left me with a special interest in, and sympathy for, any community whose homeland is occupied by a foreign military authority – Palestine being an obvious example in modern times.

'While Palestine has been occupied for some 60 years, Jersey was only occupied for five years. But for my parents, it must have seemed endless. During that relatively short time the island population faced a bitter daily struggle for survival.'

The German occupation of the Channel Islands began on 2 July 1940, two weeks after the British government had demilitarised the Islands for fear of the devastating impact a military attack could have on the civilian population.

Under German rule, the people of Jersey continued to worship in churches and pray for the Royal Family and the British Empire. But the German State Police, the Gestapo, clamped down on meetings of the Salvation Army and the Freemasons. Unexpected visits from German soldiers to search people's homes added to the atmosphere of tension and fear.

'The Occupation began when I was a toddler, and I was six when we were liberated,' says Edouard, 'so I only have fleeting childhood memories of the situation. But I do recall a pervasive and bewildering sense of apprehension. For instance, as children we didn't dare to peep through the curtains during the curfew. We literally hid from passing uniformed troops, and we certainly didn't talk to soldiers. Fear of the Germans was instilled into us.

'The Channel Islands were heavily fortified. Like static battleships, so that every time hundreds of Allied aircraft flew over at night to drop their bombs on the French mainland, the Island's anti-aircraft guns would try to blast them out of the sky. I found the bombardment and falling debris pretty scary –

Above To celebrate the 50th anniversary of Jersey's liberation from Nazi occupation in 1995, this sculpture was erected in what is now called Liberation Square

I was only four years old at the time – but in the morning when everything had quietened down, my brother and I went to collect the shrapnel which littered the farmyard and the road.'

Prisoners of war from all over Europe were brought to the island to build defensive fortifications, hospitals, and railways. They dug an underground hospital in St Lawrence in Jersey, and another in St Peter in Guernsey. The facility at St Peter took wounded soldiers from battles in France, while the hospital in Jersey was poised to deal with the wounded from an Allied invasion – but the invasion never came.

One of the many hardships for Jersey's civilians during the war was the lack of information from the mainland after the Germans banned the use of radios. A few individuals risked their lives by making their own crystal sets, and then spread news locally by word of mouth. Horse-drawn traffic became commonplace, as petrol shortages were severe.

'We had to get around on bicycles,' Edouard remembers, 'but we didn't have inner tubes inside the tyres – no rubber was available, nor any repair kits – so cycling was very uncomfortable. As children we were carried in a hand-made child-seat either on the front or the rear of the bike. There were shortages of everything.

'The restrictive regime under which we lived must have been so difficult for my parents. There was censorship, relentless propaganda, very little freedom of movement, medicines were in short supply, permits were needed to grow crops or keep pigs, ID cards had to be carried at all times, and everyone had to protect their personal possessions and what little livestock they had from theft at night. The starving enslaved prisoners who had managed to escape would forage and take whatever they could find under the cover of darkness.

'Everyone made the best out of difficult circumstances. We had no toys other than some crude hand-made ones. We had less and less food as the war progressed and, after D-Day, when the Allies began to advance back across France, our supplies were completely cut off. Fortunately, we were allowed to receive Red Cross food parcels occasionally, which just about kept us alive. The strange thing is that as a child I wasn't aware of being so deprived, because we had never known any better. Living conditions were simple and basic. My parents used ingenious ways to feed us: swede soup, followed by boiled swedes, and then swede custard – it didn't seem like a hardship. I still enjoy mashed swede!

'I must have been about five years old when I was trundling up the road with my little hand-cart carrying a sack of rationed coal. I had picked it up from a neighbour, and was taking it home. I was stopped by a trooper who demanded to see what was in the sack, thinking it was potatoes. He was hungry, too. I was absolutely terrified, and once the soldier had inspected the contents of the sack and departed in disgust, I ran off as quickly as I could with my little cart to the safety of home.'

Despite the frightening times, Edouard recalls a rare episode which showed how some Germans tried to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants. 'One day some Nazi officers came down the lane in their very smart pony and trap. They stopped to offer us a sweet each, which we accepted. The problem was that taking a sweet from German officers might be seen as fraternising with the enemy or even collaboration. So for some Island children, the sweets were deemed to be poison; but I think we ate ours!'

Fortunately, the end was in sight, and Edouard vividly recalled the day of liberation: 'What a heavenly day it was when, on 9 May 1945, the British Tommies arrived, and we all cheered them as they drove past in their army lorries, throwing sweets and toffees out to the crowds. We had been liberated and were free at last. But it took many years for Island community life to get back to normal.

'I'm sorry the same cannot be said for the Palestinian people,' he added.

Right A German army officer talking to a British policeman in St Helier during the Occupation of Jersey.
Below Edouard today, with his wife Jenny

Main image Infantry of the War of the Spanish Succession march into action at the Battle of Oudenarde in 1708, as depicted on a contemporary Dutch tapestry. What was it like to stand in a tight-packed bloc of men to face massed close-range musketry?

Malborough's MUSKETEERS

The Battle of Malplaquet was fought on 11 September 1709 (or 31 August according to the Old Style calendar still in use in Britain at the time). The French King Louis XIV had ordered Marshal Villars to use his field army of 90,000 men to relieve the besieged frontier fortress-city of Mons. The Allied commanders, Prince Eugène and the Duke of Marlborough, leaving 20,000 men to continue the siege, had advanced with the remaining 90,000 to confront Villars; theirs was a combined army of British, Dutch, and Imperialist soldiers.

Villars selected a strong defensive position, fortified it heavily, and then awaited attack. Eugène and Marlborough obliged, launching a full-scale frontal attack which resulted in several hours of close-range massed musketry as one Allied assault after another went forward and broke up in front of the French line. All contemporaries agreed that Malplaquet was, in consequence, a battle of unprecedented murderousness. French losses were 12,000 or more and they eventually abandoned the field; but to achieve this, the Allies seem to have lost somewhere between 16,000 and 20,000 (the figures given in the extract below are not reliable).

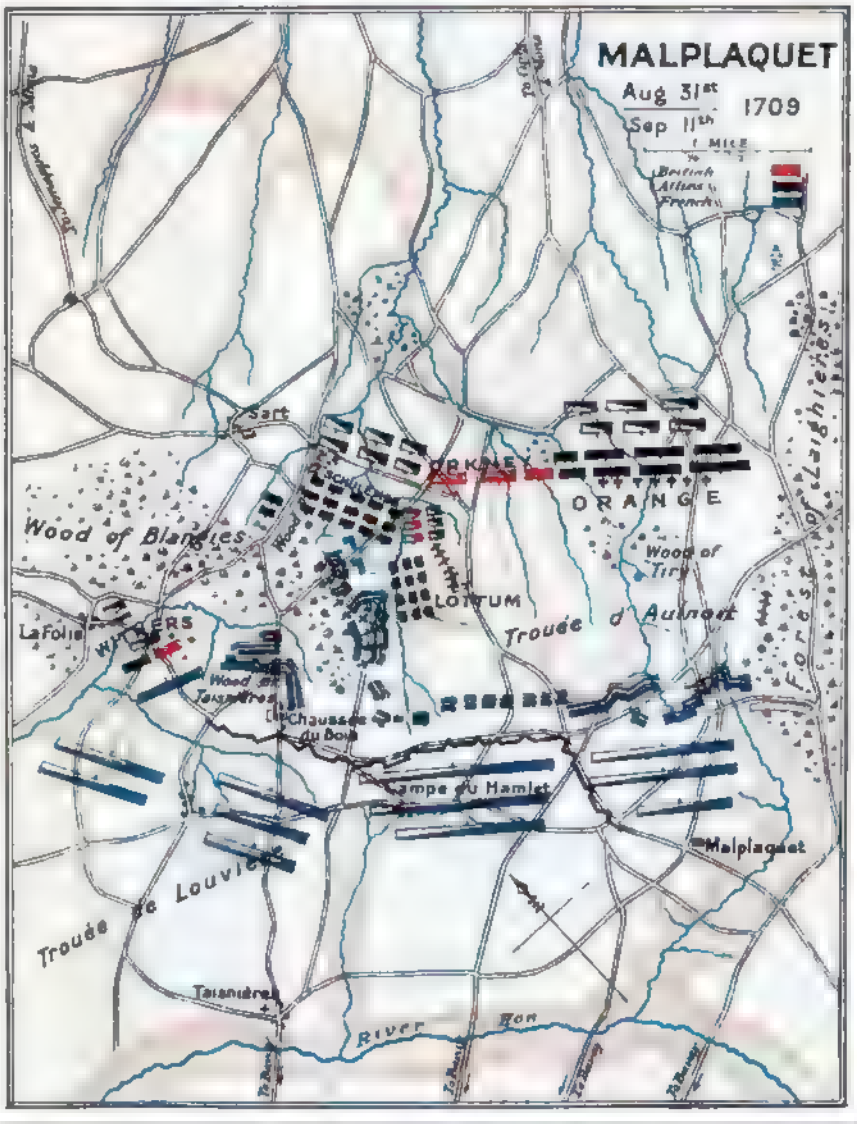
Captain Robert Parker was a career soldier of minor Anglo-Irish gentry stock. He served at the Battle of the Boyne (1690), during the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), and again during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). As an officer of the Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland (aka Hamilton's Foot), he participated in virtually all of the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns. The only exception was a period of two years spent as a tactical instructor in Ireland, during which the Battle of Malplaquet was fought. He garnered details of the battle he had missed from regimental colleagues, however, such that the extract following can be regarded as effectively first-hand testimony.

Robert Parker's journal was published posthumously by his son, bearing the comprehensive title: *Memoirs of the Most Remarkable Military Transactions from the Year 1683 to 1718 – containing a more Particular Account than ever yet published of the several battles, sieges, etc, in Ireland and Flanders during the reigns of K. William and Q. Anne. By Captain Robert Parker, late of the Royal Regiment of Foot in Ireland, who was an eyewitness of most of them. First published by his Son.*

A notable feature of the collision described below is that Parker's regiment found itself opposed to another 'Royal Regiment of Ireland'. This extraordinary coincidence pitted an Anglo-Irish Protestant unit in the British service against a Jacobite Catholic unit in the French service – a reflection of the deep divisions in the British Isles engendered by the revolutionary events of the 17th century. ▷

Right The Duke of Marlborough, Britain's greatest commander, as depicted on a contemporary tapestry portrait. His men called him 'Corporal John' and regarded him with a mix of awe and affection rare in the annals of British military history.

Below Plan of the Battle of Malplaquet, 11 September 1709. The encounter between the two Royal Irish regiments described in Parker's account took place on the extreme right of the main Allied mass in the Sart wood.



All images © WPL unless otherwise stated

EVENT: Battle of Malplaquet
DATE: 11 September 1709
TESTIMONY: Captain Robert Parker

Villars, seeing plainly that our generals were determined to attack him in the morning, resolved to stand his ground, and thereupon kept his men hard at work all night, to finish the works he had begun

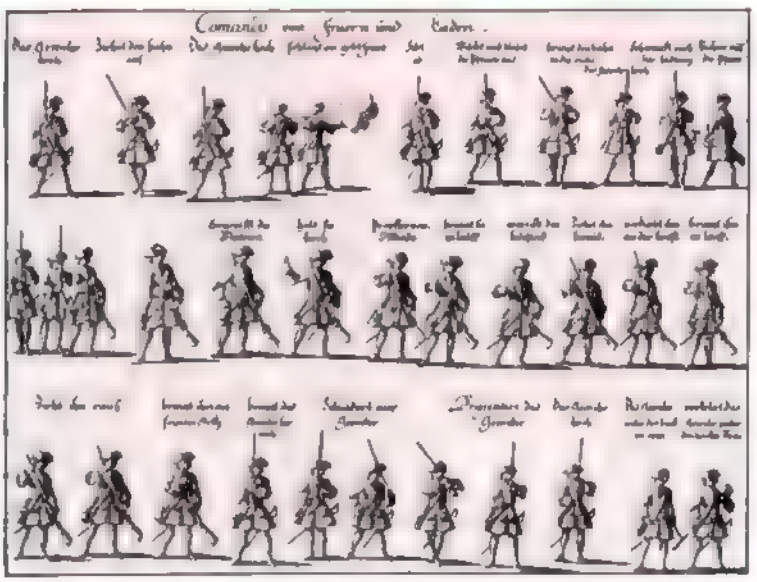
In the morning the army seemed to be drawn up within a fortification in a wood. He had the wood of Lamert [aka Lanières] on his right, that of Janfart [aka Tiry] in his centre, and that of Sart [aka Taisnières] on his left. In the intervals between the woods were double and treble entrenchments And in short they were in all respects so strongly posted that it was thought we should not have attacked them; but as our two generals were flushed with success, on they would go

So on 31 August [11 September], about eight in the morning, the battle began; for as both armies had cannonaded each other from the first light of day, some breaches had by then been made in their works Prince Eugène commanded on the right, the Prince of Orange and Count Tilly on the left, and the Duke of Marlborough in the centre

General Schulemberg [Schulenburg], at the head of 36 German battalions, attacked the enemy on their left, in the wood of Sart. The Earl of Orkney, with other British generals,

Image: © National Army Museum

Above Captain Robert Parker, Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland.



Though the quality of flintlocks improved during the 18th century – notably with the introduction of the 'Brown Bess' in 1722 – the weapon carried by Marlborough's men in Flanders was essentially the same as that carried by Wellington's soldiers in the Peninsula a century later

Compared with the matchlock of the mid 17th century, the flintlock had several advantages. A trigger mechanism in which a flint was used to strike sparks in an iron pan filled with powder was more reliable, especially in the wet, than one dependent on a slow-burning match. The combination of ball and powder-charge in the form of a cartridge sped up loading. The British also had the advantage of a heavier ball, which increased accuracy, velocity, and stopping-power. And the provision of a socket bayonet meant that the musket doubled as a spear, making the musketeer an all-purpose infantryman, no longer dependent on the protection of cumbersome blocs of pikemen

Still with a rate of fire of only about two rounds a minute, and an effective range of well under 100 yards (even if a ball might carry as far as 250 or more), disciplined volley-firing was critical to battlefield effectiveness. Ragged fire at ranges above 100 yards was virtually useless, controlled fire at ranges below 50 could destroy an opposing battalion in a matter of minutes

attacked the village of Tameres [Taisnières] and the opens between the woods of Sart and Janfart. The Prince of Hesse attacked the village of Blaregnies and the opens between the woods of Lamert and Janfart. And the Prince of Orange, with other Dutch generals, attacked the village of Malplaquet and their right in the wood of Lamert

'TERRIBLE FIRE AND PRODIGIOUS SLAUGHTER'

Thus were the infantry on both sides engaged with a most terrible fire and prodigious slaughter. As our infantry advanced, the cavalry kept close in rear of them. The battle held till near four in the afternoon, at which time Schulemberg broke in on their left, and soon after their whole army gave way. Our men immediately entered their works, when a most terrible slaughter ensued, which fell entirely on their foot – the horse on either side having had little to do, till our foot broke through their entrenchments, and made way for them to advance

No man could behave with more bravery than Villars did on this occasion, until he received a shot in his knee, which disabled him from acting, and obliged them to carry him off a little before his troops gave way. Boufflers also acted the part of a brave and good officer; for when he saw the foot put to rout, he drew up all his cavalry in great order, and made a bold stand against our horse, until the foot made off, and then he made a gallant retreat in the rear of his flying foot, until he got within the lines that run from Quesnoy to Valenciennes.

Our generals, having had enough of this dear-bought victory, did not pursue farther than to the verge of the wood; so that Boufflers retreated at his leisure. This was the most obstinate and bloody battle that had been fought in the memory of any then living; and our generals were greatly condemned for throwing away so many brave men, when there was not the necessity of coming to a battle; for the siege might have been carried on without it. And indeed it was the only rash action that either of these great men had been guilty of in the course of the war. It was said, however, that the Duke of Marlborough was much against it, and endeavoured to bring over Prince Eugène to his opinion; but be that as it will, it gave a handle to his Grace's enemies at home to exclaim loudly against him

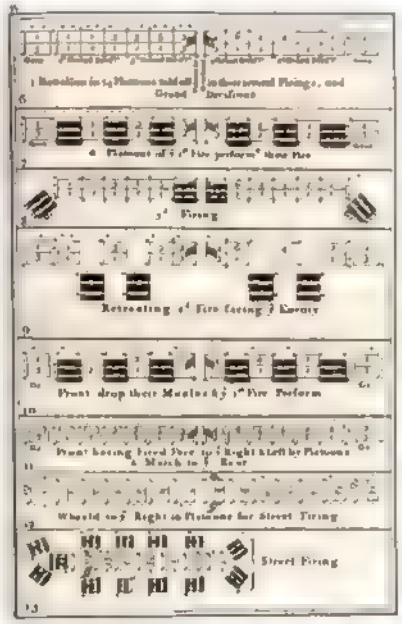
It was the most obstinate and bloody battle that had been fought in the memory of any then living.

The loss was very great, and near an equality on both sides, there being upwards of 16,000 killed and wounded on each side. But we took a great many prisoners, with most of their artillery, and a great many colours. Their tents and baggage escaped us, for they had been sent off the night before the battle. ▷

Below British Redcoats of the War of the Spanish Succession advance on an enemy position. The close-packed ranks and the proximity of the enemy before muskets are fired are depicted realistically enough.

TECHNIQUES AND TACTICS

PLATOON FIRING


Retreating 4th Fire facing 3d Enemy
Front drop their Muskets & 3d Fire Perform
Front having fired Five to the Right & Left by Platoons & March to the Rear
Wheel on 3d Right as Platoons for Street Firing
Street Firing

Parker's description of the collision between the two Royal Irish regiments at the Battle of Malplaquet is the fullest contemporary account we have of the British system of 'platoon firing' during the War of the Spanish Succession. Its methodical character reflected the deep-rooted 'bourgeois revolution' which Britain had undergone during the 17th century, a revolution that had elevated talented men of modest origins – like Marlborough – and given encouragement to innovation and professionalism – not least in the art of war-making. The contrast with the relative conservatism of *ancien régime* continental armies was apparent wherever British Redcoats were engaged.

Battalions were usually formed in three ranks. In the French army, each rank would fire in turn. The British practice was to divide a battalion into three 'firings', each of six platoons. Each platoon would be formed in three ranks, and the platoons of each of the three firings would be spaced along the length of the battalion line.

A British battalion frontage might therefore comprise 260 men extending along 270 yards of front. Each platoon would then constitute a compact bloc of men on a frontage of just 15 yards. This bloc could be tightly controlled amid the smoke, noise, and chaos of close-quarters battle, making it possible for officers and NCOs to ensure effective fire-discipline – postponing discharge until the last possible moment, tapping down muskets to avoid overshooting, allowing time for the volley to be properly aimed.

The first firing's volley would crash out from six separate parts of the battalion line. Then, while the first firing reloaded, the second firing would discharge in the same way. Then the third, by which time, the first firing would be almost ready to fire again; and so on, such that a continual succession of massed, aimed, close-range musket-volleys could be sustained.

Parker's account implies that superior musketry technique meant that British battalions had as much as a four-to-one advantage in killing-power over their opponents.

Above Platoon firing – the basis of British fire discipline – depended on relentless drilling. This illustration from a contemporary manual indicates the deployment of a battalion engaged in platoon firing.

PLATOON FIRING

The part which our regiment acted in this battle was something remarkable. We happened to be the last of the regiments that had left Tournai to level our approaches, and therefore could not come up till the lines were all formed and closed, so that there was no place for us to fall into. We were ordered therefore to draw up by ourselves on the right of the whole army, opposite to a skirt of the wood of Sart; and when the army advanced to attack the enemy, we also advanced into that part of the wood which was in our front.

We continued marching slowly on, till we came to an open in the wood. It was a small plain, on the opposite side of which we perceived a battalion of the enemy drawn up, a skirt of the wood being in the rear of them. Upon this Colonel Kane, who was then at the head of the regiment, having drawn us up, formed our platoons, advanced gently towards them, with the six platoons of our first fire made ready.

When we had advanced within 100 paces of them, they gave us the fire of one of their ranks; whereupon we halted, and returned them the fire of our six platoons at once; and immediately made ready the six platoons of our second fire, and advanced upon them again.

They then gave us the fire of another rank, and we returned them a second fire, which made them shrink. However, they gave us the fire of a third rank after a

Above Detail from a contemporary image of the Battle of Höchstadt in 1704, showing two opposing battalions of infantry exchanging close-range musketry.

scattering manner, and then retired into the wood in great disorder; on which we sent our third fire after them, and saw them no more.

BRITISH FIRE DISCIPLINE

We advanced cautiously up to the ground which they had quitted, and found several of them killed and wounded, among the latter was one Lieutenant O'Sullivan, who told us the battalion we had engaged was the Royal Regiment of Ireland. Here, therefore, there was a fair trial of skill between the two Royal Regiments of Ireland, one in the British, the other in the French service; for we met upon equal terms, and there was none else to interpose. We had but four men killed and six wounded; and found near 40 of them on the spot killed and wounded.

The advantage on our side will be easily accounted for, first from the weight of our ball, for the French arms carry bullets of 24 to the pound, whereas our British firelocks carry balls of 16 only to the pound, which will make a considerable difference in the execution.

Again, the manner of our firing was different from theirs; the French at the time fired all by ranks, which can never do equal execution with our platoon-firing, especially when six platoons are fired together. This is undoubtedly the best method that has yet been discovered for fighting a battalion, especially when two battalions only engage each other.

Who were the men in the line at Malplaquet? Britain's peacetime army was very small when the War of the Spanish Succession began in 1701. During the war it rose to about 70,000, with an average of around 20,000 serving with Marlborough in Flanders at any one time. The Redcoats would routinely fight alongside Continental allies, mainly Dutch, German and Imperial troops.

Since there was no conscription, recruiting parties would tour the towns and villages of Britain, ideally seeking fit ex-soldiers, otherwise other able-bodied young men. Though recruiting sergeants offered a range of inducements – enlistment bounties ('the king's shilling'), regular pay, the promise of adventure, a share in the booty – the army had few attractions for men of any substance. Poverty was the primary motivation. But this was rarely sufficient to fill the ranks. The shortfall was made good by enlisting criminals, vagrants, and deserters – often as an alternative to prison or the gallows.

On the other hand, some men did enlist out of conviction. Ireland's bitter divisions – as well as its poverty – turned men into soldiers, and others too, like exiled French Huguenots resident in England volunteered to fight for political and religious reasons. Though nationalism did not exist in its modern form, other ideologies had the power to arouse martial passions. This was especially true among officers.

The quality of Marlborough's junior officers was variable, since purchase – not just of rank but of entire regiments (and the exploitation of both for personal profit) – was the norm. Nonetheless, alongside the gilded fops of the aristocracy were serious professional men like Captain John Parker. Two others of similar mould worthy of mention are Colonel William Kane, a son of the Royal Irish, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Blackadder, of the Cameronians, both of whom, like Parker, have left us military memoirs recording their service under Marlborough.

CARTOONIST

The wartime cartoons of David Langdon

Mark Bryant looks at the life and work of cartoonist David Langdon, as we approach the 100th anniversary of his birth.

Next year marks the centenary not only of the beginning of the First World War, but also of the birth of cartoonist David Langdon OBE, once described by the *Evening Standard* as 'the greatest comic artist of our time'.

Aged 97 when he died, he first came to prominence during the Second World War and was the last of that classic wartime generation of Fleet Street cartoonists which included Osbert Lancaster, David Low, 'Vicky' (Victor Weisz), Leslie Illingworth, Carl Giles, Philip Zec, and 'JON' (W J P Jones), all now sadly deceased.

Langdon's professional career lasted more than 70 years, beginning when he sold his first drawing (a joke about Mussolini) in 1936. One of the longest serving and most prolific *Punch* cartoonists ever – producing at least 5,000 cartoons for this magazine alone over a period of 55 years (1937-1992) – he was also a regular contributor to the *Sunday Mirror* for more than 40 years (1948-1990) and the *New Yorker* for more than half a century. He was also a highly successful book illustrator and advertising artist.

WHERE IT ALL BEGAN

Langdon was born in London on 24 February 1914. He was the son of an antiques dealer, who on the outbreak of the First World War worked in an armaments factory at Woolwich Arsenal. The family moved to Stepney, where he attended the Robert Montefiore School and later Davenant Foundation Grammar School for Boys (then in Whitechapel High Street).

He began drawing cartoons at school and credited his uncle, Joe Freeman, for his interest in the art form. During WWI Freeman had served in the Royal Flying Corps in northern Italy, and had been wounded in action. As Langdon later recalled, 'He showed me some sketches he had made of nurses, while in his hospital bed, which so impressed me that I always blamed my Uncle Joe for setting me on my subsequent career as a cartoonist.'

Offered a scholarship to study architecture at London University, Langdon had to turn it down because of the slump in building work and his parents' financial straits. Instead he became a trainee in the London County Council Architects' Department (1931-1939), based at County Hall, Lambeth, and in 1935 had his first cartoons published in the LCC's staff journal, *London Town*.

In 1936 he sold his first drawing to *Time & Tide*. The following year he not only began contributing to the new monthly magazine *Lilliput* (from its first volume), but started producing weekly sports cartoons for the *Sunday Referee*, and sold his first advertising idea to Shell. The same year his first drawing was accepted by *Punch*. It was bought by the magazine's new Art Editor 'Fougasse' (Kenneth Bird), who was himself a distinguished cartoonist, having drawn the famous 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' series of wartime posters for the Ministry of Information.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Langdon was seconded to the newly formed London Rescue Service (1939-1941). He was then posted to the Rescue and Demolition Depot in Finsbury in the City of London as an Executive Officer. In his spare time he continued to draw cartoons, making good-humoured fun of the Home Guard, the police, the army, the navy, the RAF, and wartime life in general. Such was his success that between 1939 and 1941, he had more cartoons published in *Punch* than any other single contributor.

During the war he also drew advertisements for government agencies such as the Ministry of Food. One, promoting wheatmeal bread, featured a drawing of BBC radio newsreader Alvar Liddell, who began his programme with, 'Here is the News – and this is Alvar Liddell reading it.' Langdon's version had: 'Here is National Wheatmeal Bread – and this is Alvar Liddell eating it.'

Above David Langdon *c*1945, from *Meet Me Inside* (1946).

BILLY BROWN OF LONDON TOWN

His most famous wartime creation was 'Billy Brown of London Town' (1940-1943), a series of cautionary advertisements for the London Passenger Transport Board (later London Transport), with rhyming couplets by fellow *Punch* contributor Richard Usborne. The series featured a clean-shaven, middle-aged, middle-class City gent who always wore white shirt, black tie, pinstripe trousers, black coat, and bowler hat. Over his shoulder he carried a gas-mask in a white box, and in his hand a furled black umbrella. Occasionally, Mrs Brown and their daughter Sally also appeared.

The advertisements, which appeared on buses, trams, trains, and the Underground, often led to amusing graffiti. In one, Billy Brown wags an admonitory finger at a Tube passenger trying to peel off the netting stuck over the windows to protect the trains from bomb blasts. The caption reads: 'I trust you'll pardon my correction, but that stuff is there for your protection.' As Langdon later recalled, 'A Cockney wag scrawled his alternative couplet over the poster: "Thank you for your information, but I can't see the bloody station!"'

> Billy Brown became part of popular culture, inspiring the song 'Mr Brown of London Town'.

Billy Brown soon became a part of popular culture, inspiring the song 'Mr Brown of London Town' (1941) by Noel Gay, and even appearing as nose-art painted on a wartime RAF bomber, holding a bomb ready to drop on Berlin.

A Brown-like figure also appeared on the cover of Langdon's first collection of cartoons, *Home Front Lines* (1941). In his foreword he wrote: 'To me it is the British sense of humour which is still the fount of ideas, and in paying my tribute to it and to the marvellous way it has persisted undaunted through the darkest hours, I raise my tin hat to those faintly ridiculous but wonderful people, the men, women and children of the blitzed areas whose sense of humour will carry through to victory.'

RAF HUNSDON

After two years in the London Rescue Service, Langdon applied to join the RAF Volunteer Reserve and was accepted in October 1941. He had volunteered for aircrew but failed the medical examination. Thus, after six weeks at an Initial Training Station, he joined the RAFVR's Administrative and Special Duties Branch with the rank of Aircraftsman, Second Class. He was commissioned Pilot Officer in January 1942 (it was a non-flying 'war substantive rank'), and was posted as an administrator to RAF Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, a night-fighter station.

While at RAF Hunsdon, Langdon drew illustrations for *The Tizzy Angle*, an instructional leaflet for RAF ground controllers showing how to determine the interception course for fighters in the air. It was issued to all Fighter Command Groups and written by Sir Henry Tizard, chairman of the government's Aeronautical Research Committee. He also illustrated a number of RAF pamphlets, posters, and manuals such as 'Bombing Sense', 'Stirling Fighting Tactics', and 'Are These Your Tactics?'

By this time Langdon was sufficiently well known to feature in a book. *They Make Us Smile* (1942) was based on Percy Bradshaw's series of monthly articles in *London Opinion* about contemporary humorous artists. As Bradshaw says, 'though the Air Force doesn't provide its young officers with a lot of leisure, I fancy that the Mirth Control Department will allow Langdon a few extra coupons.'

In October 1942 he was promoted to Flying Officer and posted to the Air Ministry in Adastral House, London. Here he joined Air Commodore G O Venn's Directorate of Personal Services in the Department of the Air Member for Personnel, run by Air Marshal Sir Bertine E D Sutton. His commanding officer (and later close friend) was Squadron Leader René Raymond, who, under the pseudonym James Hadley Chase, had become famous at the beginning of the war as the author of the thriller *No Orchids for Miss Blandish* (1939).

The Directorate of Personal Services also produced the *Royal Air Force Journal*. Founded in September 1939 as a small weekly *Intelligence Bulletin* produced by the novelist Hector Bolitho, it was published monthly with a circulation of 50,000 copies by the end of the war.

Raymond took over as editor in October 1942, and by September 1943 Langdon had become Assistant Editor with the rank of Flight-Lieutenant. As well as drawing general cartoons and cover illustrations (including the special 'Christmas and Birthday Number' for November/December 1943), one of his most popular creations for the *Journal* was 'Joe the Erk' ('erk' being RAF slang for Aircraftman).

A CLOSE SHAVE

While out walking with Raymond near the Strand one day, a German bomb landed behind them, and they were thrown onto the ground. As Langdon later recalled:

> *Mercifully uninjured, we got up and looked back to see a burning bus lying on top of an EWS [Emergency Water Supply] tank, and the bodies of the unfortunate passengers and passers-by lying around. We helped as best we could, and when the Fire Brigade and ambulances arrived, we staggered, shaken and covered in dust, into Adastral House. Most of its windows were shattered...*

In 1943 Langdon illustrated a wartime cookery book, *Brave New Cooking* by Katalin Frank, and also *It's a Piece of Cake: RAF slang made easy* by Squadron Leader C H Ward-Jackson.

The following year his second book, *All Buttoned Up! a scrapbook of RAF cartoons* (a collection of his work for *Royal Air Force Journal*) was published. He also contributed to the RAF anthology *RAF Parade*, and he illustrated Jenny Nicholson's *Kiss the Girls Good-bye*, a book about women in the WAAF.

In August 1945 Langdon, by then working in Room 20 of the Air Ministry, featured in *The Gen: voice of the service*, one of a series of 18 short films produced by the Air Ministry's RAF Film Production Unit. He also drew title cartoons for some of the films, including *Burma Front*, *Joe the Erk*, and *Winnie the WAAF*.

By the end of 1945 he had taken over from Raymond as editor of the *Royal Air Force Journal*, and was then himself promoted to the rank of Squadron Leader. He continued to edit the *Royal Air Force Journal* until 1946. Also that year, he published a collection of his *Punch* drawings, *Meet Me Inside*, and jointly edited (with René Raymond) a book of stories, articles, and photos from the *Royal Air Force Journal* entitled *Slipstream: a Royal Air Force anthology*.

LIFE AFTER THE WAR

After being demobilised the same year, Langdon became a full-time freelance, contributing, among many other publications, to *Aeroplane* and *RAF Review*. He also drew for advertising and illustrated books, and continued to publish collections of his own work (from 1947 to 1960 these became almost an annual event).

In addition he edited two anthologies of Punch cartoons about flying: *Punch with Wings: a cartoon history of the Royal Air Force* (1961), and *Punch in the Air* (1983). He also illustrated *The Story of W V S* (1959) by Virginia Graham, published to celebrate the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Women's Voluntary Service.

In 1955 he married April Sadler-Philips, whom he had met at the War Office in London. They had a daughter and two sons. Awarded an OBE in 1988, Langdon was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts the same year, and was given a Lifetime Achievement Award by the Cartoon Art Trust in 2001. He died on 18 November 2011.

Below A Langdon cartoon from Percy Bradshaw's *They Make Us Smile* (1942).
Right A wartime drawing from *Lilliput* magazine.

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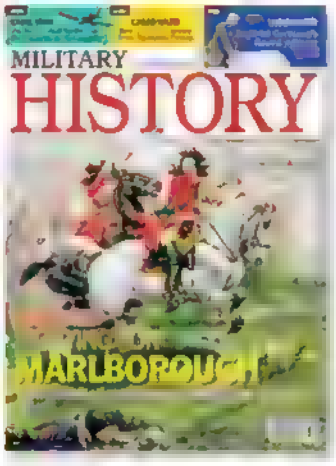

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A History of the

BRITISH ARMY

IN 25 BATTLES

CAEN, 1944

CAEN, 1944

Right Field-Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery (1887-1976). As the most experienced commander on the Allied side, Montgomery was given temporary command of all ground forces in addition to his permanent position as commander of 21st Army Group (British and Canadian). Later, a separate American field command was created (12th Army Group under Omar Bradley), and Eisenhower assumed direct overall command of the entire Allied operation.

CAEN

6 June-6 August 1944

It was supposed to have been captured on D-Day. Instead, Caen turned into a two-month battle of attrition that tested the British Army against the elite Waffen-SS. The battle broke German military power in France and proved that Britain's new army of wartime conscripts had come of age.

The gains fell short of the plans, but D-Day by virtually any other measure was a military masterpiece. The achievement was so great that hindsight can make success appear certain. It was not. D-Day was a close-run thing, and the victory is a tribute to a brilliant combination of planning, technology, logistics, intelligence, combined ops co-ordination, and battlefield professionalism and grit.

It was the greatest amphibious landing in human history. By the end of the second day, 175,000 men and 20,000 vehicles had been landed. The assault divisions had stormed ashore early on 6 June on five neighbouring beaches. Pushing outwards, they had linked up the beaches and secured a narrow bridgehead between five and ten miles deep. They had repelled early, local, improvised counterattacks, and their mission now was to expand the bridgehead to facilitate the build-up of force necessary for breakout. The plan was to land half a million vehicles, two million men, and three million tons of supplies in the first two months of the campaign.

Hobo's Funnies

How was it done? The initial assault was made by a first wave of five divisions, a second of two, all afloat simultaneously in special landing-craft. Though the 'Adanuc Wall' defences at Normandy were less formidable than those facing the shorter Pas de Calais crossing, they still comprised a belt of obstacles – dragon's teeth, barbed wire, and mines, both under the water and on the beaches – all covered by machine-guns and artillery in concrete emplacements. The assault infantry were supported by naval gunfire and aerial bombing, but it might not have been enough. The plan had therefore been to get armour ashore at the same time. Achieving this was a triumph of British ingenuity and engineering.

At Churchill's insistence, Major-General Percy Hobart – 'Hobo' – had been recalled from semi-retirement with the Home Guard. Hobo was a prickly armoured-warfare obsessive with a penchant for technical wizardry. Consequently, the D-Day assault infantry were helped ashore by a range of specially adapted tanks – 'Hobart's Funnies'. As British Army historian Allan Mallinson puts it, 'Never has so much technical energy been applied to a single day's fighting in the history of warfare.'

Bobbing along on the swell beside the packed landing-craft at dawn on 6 June were swimming tanks – the DD

Below The architecture of battle. The Battle for Normandy represents perhaps the greatest logistical feat in the history of modern industrialised warfare. Here, a Bailey Bridge: these would be transported in parts and rapidly assembled as needed like Meccano.

Images: WPL

Above This contemporary artist's reconstruction of the Normandy beaches after the initial assaults gives a powerful impression of the vast logistical operation that followed D-Day.

(duplex drive) Shermans, equipped with collapsible rubberised canvas screen and a propeller powered by the tanks' own engine via a detachable shaft. Almost all of them got ashore, despite a painfully slow speed of just 100 yards a minute, and they immediately started blasting enemy positions with their 75mm guns and Browning machine-guns.

Other tanks were landed with equipment to support movement up the beaches. Sand too soft for vehicles? There were 'bobbin tanks' to unroll flexible trackway. Ground sown with mines? 'Flail tanks' were on hand, rotating shafts with attached chains fixed to the front of each vehicle. Promenade walls too high? 'Arc tanks' would drive up to the wall and extend their ramps so that other tanks could simply drive up and over them.

An industrial battle

Equally ingenious was Britain's solution to the main logistical challenge the Allies faced: how to land the men, vehicles, and supplies needed to hold, enlarge, and break out of the bridgehead in the face of growing counterattacks by the 60 German divisions on the Western Front.

The Channel is notorious for its storms and rough seas, and the Normandy coast lacks a major port. The solution was two artificial harbours codenamed 'Mulberries', which were towed across the Channel in sections and then assembled at the beaches. They comprised outer breakwaters formed of blockships, inner concrete breakwaters, and floating moles linking quays to shore.

But there was more. Overwhelming airpower was deployed to achieve complete air supremacy over the invasion fleet and assault divisions, to destroy the Germans' rearward communications by bombing roads, railways, bridges, and tunnels, and to paralyse daylight movement by enemy reinforcements attempting to reach the battlefield.

The co-operation of air, sea, and land forces was matched by the unprecedented degree of unanimity and co-ordination achieved by the Allied high command. The Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force was the American General Dwight Eisenhower. His deputy was the British Air Chief-Marshal Arthur Tedder. Eisenhower's Chief of Staff was American, his deputy Chief of Staff British, and his three service commanders also all British (Air Chief-Marshal Leigh-Mallory, Admiral Ramsay, and Field-Marshal Montgomery). The respective headquarters of these air, sea, and land commanders were also international and integrated.

> The gains fell short of the plans, but D-Day by virtually any other measure was a military masterpiece.

Deception

One final ingredient in the success of D-Day was an elaborately conceived and meticulously executed deception plan designed to convince the Germans that the main landings would take place at the Pas de Calais. Long after the actual landings, bogus wireless traffic sustained enemy anxiety about a phantom 'Army Group Patton', supposedly poised for a sudden surge across the Straits of Dover and registered on Hitler's campaign maps as 42 uncommitted Allied divisions waiting in southern England. Consequently, only one in six of the German divisions available on the Western Front were committed to the Normandy battle during the second week of June.

This was the period of greatest vulnerability for the Allies. The Anglo-American planners had calculated that they might have to face 27 enemy divisions, seven of them armoured, with just 18 of their own, only four of them armoured, as late as D+10 (16 June). That the odds were much more favourable was largely due to the thickness of the fog of war in which the German high command had been shrouded.

Hitler's woeful incompetence did the rest. Rommel was denied the Panzer divisions he needed to mount effective ▷

A History of the
BRITISH ARMY
IN 25 BATTLES

CAEN, 1944

Above Battleground Normandy. In the summer battles of 1944 on the Western Front, the soldiers found themselves fighting either in bomb-shattered ruins or amid the narrow lanes and dense hedgerows of the bocage.

counterattacks until too late. Once it was clear that the bridgehead could not be contained, that the German line was stretched too thin, that a breakout was imminent, that it was necessary to withdraw to a new line, Hitler ordered 'no withdrawal' – just as he had done again and again in North Africa and on the Eastern Front.

The tensions erupted in a purge of generals. Rundstedt, supreme commander in the West, was sacked for defeatism. Kluge, his successor, fell under suspicion when a bomb ripped through Hitler's 'Wolf's Lair' headquarters at Rastenburg in East Prussia; he subsequently committed suicide in fear of arrest by the Gestapo.

Stauffenberg's bomb, which went off on 20 July, triggered a wave of state terror that traumatised the German high command at the height of the Normandy campaign. The generals were as much preoccupied with the Gestapo as with the Allies. Even Rommel, Germany's most famous commander and a former favourite of Hitler, would succumb, driven to suicide by Gestapo threats against his family.

Caution

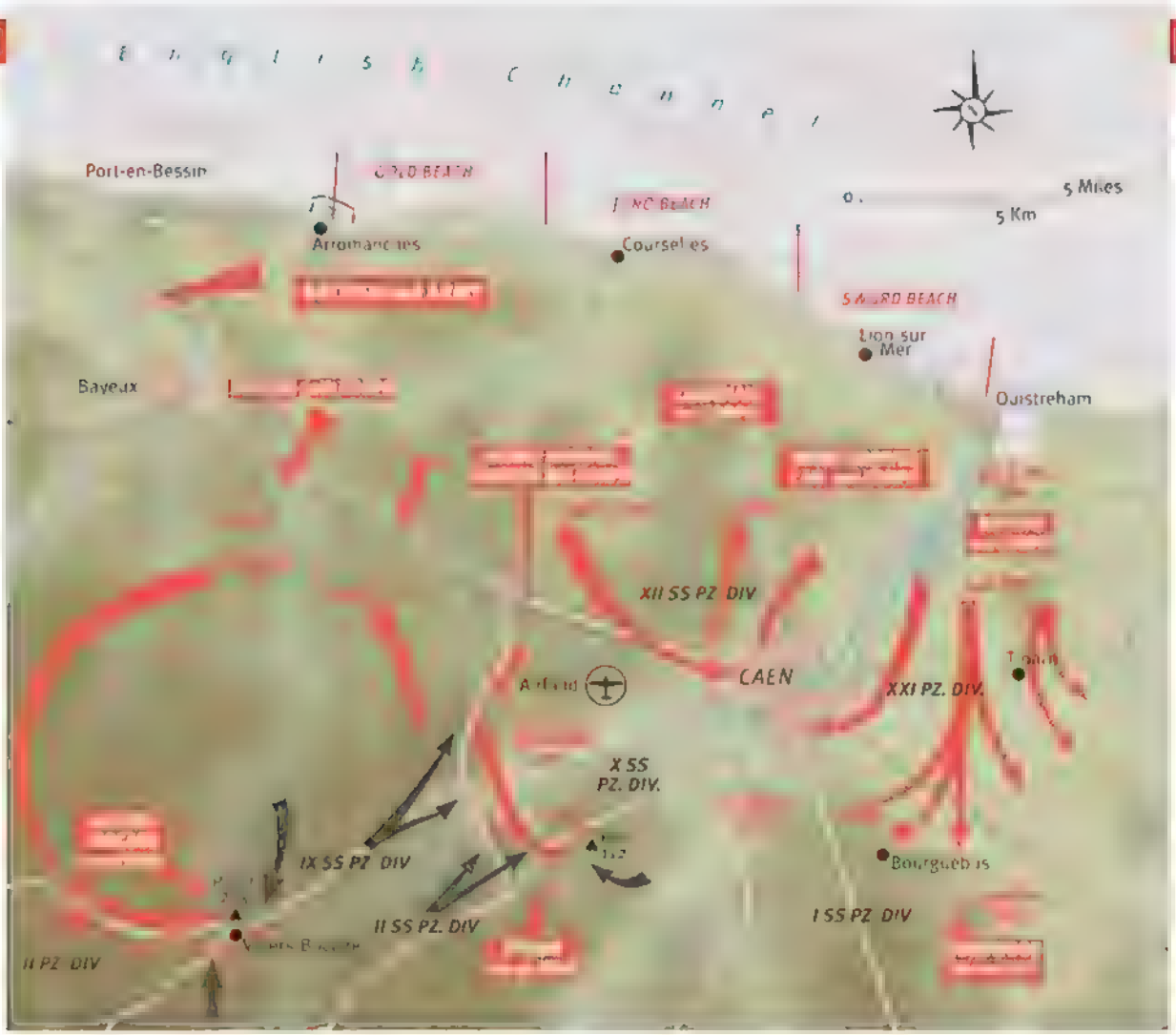
This was the context for the Battle of Caen: the battle that broke the Wehrmacht on the Western Front.

Had the offensive been pushed with vigour on the first day, the city might well have fallen according to plan. The defenders were few and reeling in disarray. But Montgomery, precious about his reputation and instinctively risk averse, was over-cautious.

What the Allied commanders were not prepared for was the combination of the defensive advantages of the Normandy terrain with the superb skill of the Wehrmacht in adapting to and holding ground. The rugged landscape, sculpted into endless hills and valleys, was clothed with woods and orchards, studded with farms, hamlets, and villages, and dissected by country lanes bounded by stone-walls and high, thick, impenetrable hedgerows. German infantry equipped with super rifles, machine-guns, and anti-tank guns merged into this landscape to set up a hundred close-range ambushes. The Normandy bocage created a killing-field capable of nullifying much of the huge Allied advantage in firepower and numbers.

Then there were the Panzers. Where were they? When and where would they launch their inevitable counterattacks? The German infantry were often veteran formations up against raw British, Canadian, and US divisions. The German tank crews enjoyed a comparable advantage over their enemies, both in experience and in the quality of their machines, which now included large numbers of the superb Panthers and Tigers.

Caen, however, had to be taken. It lay at the heart of the Normandy network of roads and railways, and



Above The Battle of Caen. The ancient Norman city was the key to the struggle for Normandy. The Allies had to take it to secure their beachhead, to win space for their build-up of force, and to dominate the local transport network. But it took two months to drive the Germans back. Note the three abortive British-Canadian offensives: Villers-Bocage (10-13 June), Epsom (26-30 June), and Goodwood (18-20 July).

was located on the northern edge of the only sizeable plain where large airfields, supply-bases, and military camps might be established. It was also the obvious jumping-off point for any development of major offensive operations across northern France. As for the Germans, they had little choice but to counterattack from east to west; any attempt to bypass Caen would have exposed them to potentially crippling flank attacks, and to Allied airpower on the open roads. Caen, in consequence, became the cauldron of the Battle for Normandy.

> Four German tank divisions were thrown into the battle in an attempt to drive the Allies into the sea before they could consolidate.

Panzers

At first, the issue was not the capture of Caen, but the defence of the beachhead itself, as four German tank divisions, I SS Panzer Leibstandarte Adolph Hitler, XII SS Panzer Hitlerjugend, XXI Panzer, and Panzer Lehr, were thrown into the battle in an attempt to drive the Allies into the sea before they could consolidate.

In the event, circumstances combined to frustrate the German effort. Co-ordination was poor in the rapidly improvised counterattacks, petrol began to run out, Allied infantry, especially the Canadians, offered doughty resistance, and, above all, the Panzers were battered by aerial attack from Typhoons and P-47 Thunderbolts.

The battle had now taken shape. It was vital for the Allies to extend the bridgehead by taking Caen and pushing southwards. It was equally vital for the Germans to hold it and use it as a launchpad for renewed thrusts towards the sea. This in turn meant that Caen would likely become an attritional battle capable of drawing in and chewing up German reserves, such that the Americans would be able to break out further west. The British 2nd Army at Caen would do the fighting necessary to degrade the all-important Panzer divisions to the point where the German line could be broken elsewhere.

Montgomery subsequently claimed this was his plan. The evidence suggests otherwise: that he planned three successive operations designed to break out at Caen, each of which was frustrated. The effect, nonetheless, was to consume the Wehrmacht's reserves, such that, ▷

when the break came, the whole of France was laid open to an Allied sweep spearheaded by American armour.

Villers-Bocage 10-13 June

Montgomery's first thrust was planned as a pincer involving the 51st Highland Division attacking east of Caen and the 7th Armoured to the west, supported by an airborne drop to the south. This did not come off. The airborne drop was deemed unfeasible, and the 51st Highland performed badly – so much so that Montgomery sacked its commander and contemplated sending the entire unit back to England.

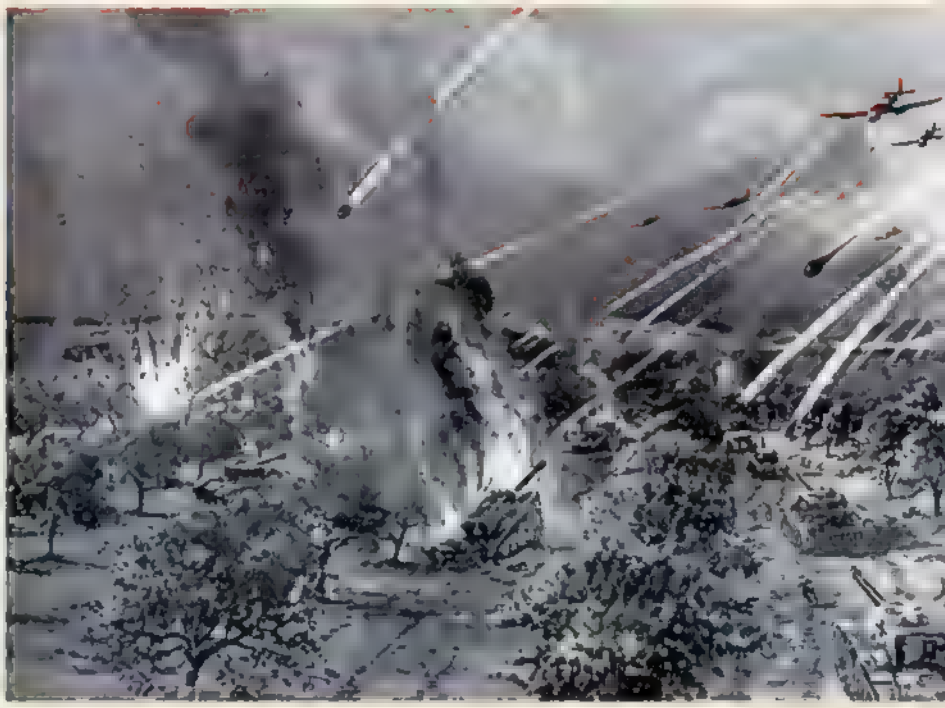
The 51st was a veteran division that had served in the Western Desert. The length of the war seems to have afflicted some experienced units with a growing 'war-weariness' (as opposed to 'war-weariness') – that is, a growing reluctance among the rank and file to take further risks, having survived so many and seen so many comrades succumb; almost as if the men sensed that the odds against them coming through the war alive were getting ever longer. Whatever the reason, green units sometimes proved more resilient – though usually less adept – during the Normandy fighting.

Still, 7th Armoured (the famous 'Desert Rats') enjoyed a dramatic early success, penetrating deep into the German line and finding itself on the morning of 13 June at Point 213, astride the Villers-Bocage/Caen road, with open country to the south of the city in front of it. Then a lone Tiger appeared and opened fire. It was the lead vehicle in a group of five tanks from the 101st SS Heavy Panzer Battalion. It was commanded by Panzer ace Obersturmführer Michael Wittmann, credited with 137 tank 'kills' on the Eastern Front.

Without waiting for the other four tanks of his group, he set about destroying one after another of the British Cromwells of 7th Armoured. 'The Cromwells,' reports Antony Beevor, 'badly designed, under-armoured, and under-gunned, did not stand a chance. They even found it hard to back out of danger, since their reverse speed was little more than two miles per hour.' Within a matter of minutes, the German Tiger caused 25 British tanks to brew up, before clanking away from the smoking wreckage completely undamaged.

The 7th Armoured divisional commander pulled back to a defensive position around Villers-Bocage to await reinforcements. When these failed to show – they were the 50th Northumbrians, another division of desert veterans operating below par – he abandoned his exposed position and fell back on the main British line.

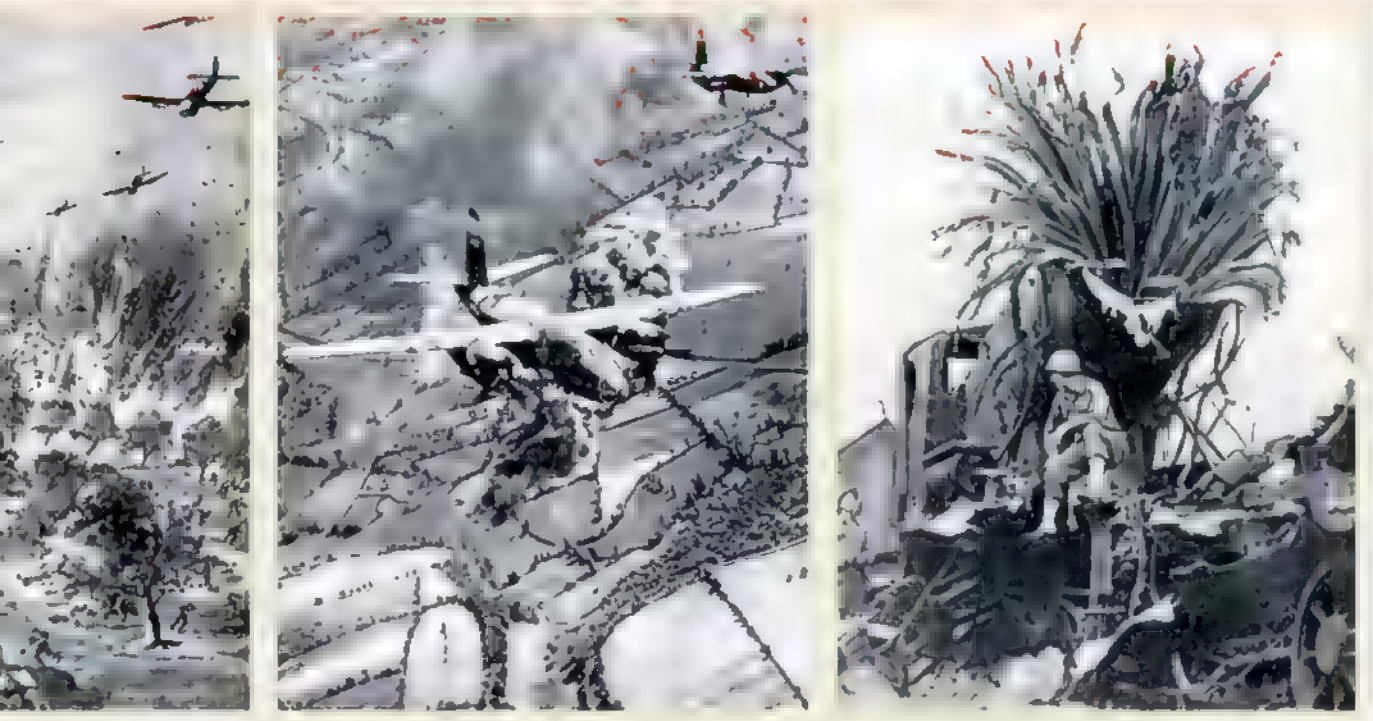
Nonetheless, Villers-Bocage, though a tactical defeat, represented a strategic gain. Before the disastrous encounter with Wittmann's Tiger, 7th Armoured had sheared through the flank of Panzer Lehr and destroyed 100 tanks – losses the Germans simply could not make good, sufficient, in the view of the Panzer divisional commander, to wreck any 'chance to drive to the sea'.



ALLIED AIRPOWER OVER NORMANDY

Left to right Rocket-firing Typhoons blast a German column on a Normandy road; Marauder medium bombers of the USAAF attack the German transport infrastructure; a German locomotive shredded by Allied air-attack.

Above An Allied air-reconnaissance photo of the city of Caen under aerial attack.



Epsom 26-30 June

A terrific storm battered the Channel between 19 and 22 June, delaying the Allied build-up and postponing any renewal of the offensive operations around Caen. When they came, they were mounted by the newly arrived 8th Corps, the infantry of the 15th Scottish Division and the 43rd Wessex Division in the lead, 11th Armoured in reserve ready to exploit any breakthrough. The British pushed forwards rapidly, and by 29 June the tanks of 11th Armoured were ensconced on Hill 112, a key tactical feature south-west of Caen which the Germans felt obliged to recapture.

The British salient attracted counter-attacks by no less than seven Panzer divisions, of which four divisions and part of a fifth were Waffen-SS units. The heavy involvement of the Nazi military elite in the Battle for Normandy turned much of the fighting into a merciless struggle. Once it became known that the XII SS Hitlerjugend and other SS units had murdered as many as 187 Canadian prisoners in the opening days of the campaign, many Allied soldiers, especially Jewish servicemen, became equally ruthless. A number of units even received formal 'no prisoners' orders from on high. The battle became charged with the racialised politics engendered by Nazi domination of Europe.

Montgomery had claimed that Epsom was to be 'the showdown'. As so often, he was long on words and short on action. Instead of reinforcing, he ordered 8th Corps, which had suffered 4,000 casualties, onto the defensive. Hill 112 was given up. The struggle to retake it in the weeks to follow would cost many more lives than it would have cost to defend it on 30 June.

Nonetheless, like Villers-Bocage, Epsom contributed substantially to the grinding down of German strength. This was a function not just of the effect of British tank and AT fire on the ground, but also of both the air-attack and naval bombardment made possible once the Panzers had broken cover to respond to enemy threats.

Naval gunfire from 30 miles away left craters four metres across and two deep. A thousand air sorties a day were flown at the height of the battle. The Germans lost another 100 tanks. The attrition was unsustainable. The German high command was appalled by the firepower and the losses, and was unanimous in its view that tight containment of the Allied beachhead had become impossible and was bound to lead rapidly to the destruction of their forces in France.

Goodwood 18-20 July

'We must expect that in the foreseeable future the enemy will succeed in breaking through our thin front and thrusting deep into France' that was ▷

Below German prisoners are taken to the rear by their British captors.

the judgement of Erwin Rommel on 15 July.

On the same day, commenting on the plan for his third offensive, the German commander's old antagonist declared that: 'Goodwood is to engage the German armour in battle and "write it down" to such an extent that it is of no further value as a basis of the battle.'

As before, however, Montgomery refused to commit to all-out decisive battle, invariably pulling his punches as soon as his men encountered heavy resistance and any risk of serious reverse.

Goodwood was preceded by the usual deluge of fire. Early on the morning of 18 July, no fewer than 2,600 British and US bombers dropped more than 7,500 tons of bombs on 7,000 metres of the German front. But the attacking columns found themselves backed up down the Normandy roads as three armoured divisions tried to get across Bailey Bridges over the Caen Canal and the River Orne. The British were further slowed by the narrowness of the lanes cleared through enemy minefields. Truck-borne infantry had to be stopped to let the tanks through first. But this meant the assault beyond the minefields lacked the necessary punch.

The Germans were waiting. The tanks of 11th Armoured and Guards Armoured were ambushed by anti-tank guns hidden amid farmyards and hedgerows, pounded by 88mm guns on a nearby ridge, and counterattacked by the I SS Panzer Division. The British lost more than 200 tanks.

It did not matter. Montgomery, whatever his intentions, had drawn upon himself the main weight of the German armour and had, indeed, 'written it down' to a degree that made the final outcome of the campaign certain. By 20 July, if not before, the German line had become untenable.

The Liberation of France

Between 25 and 31 July, the Americans mounted their Operation Cobra breakthrough battle at the far western end of the Allied line. Once Avranches was taken, Patton's 3rd Army surged west across Brittany, then south to the Loire, and eventually east across central France in a huge sweep south of Paris.

Hitler, despite the breakthrough, ordered his commanders to attempt to shore up the line by counter-attacking to plug the gap. It was madness. It trapped tens of thousands of German soldiers in vulnerable forward positions they could not possibly hold. The Falaise-Argentan Pocket became a bag of territory containing the bulk of what remained of the German army in Normandy. That many escaped through a narrow corridor running eastwards, including most of the surviving armour, was due more to the incompetence of the Allies than to the skill of the Germans. Even so, 10,000 of the enemy were killed and 50,000 taken prisoner.

Paris was liberated on 25 August, and the Allies were close to the Rhine by early September. By this time, the Allies had put two million men onto French soil, while destroying German forces of half a million men at a loss to themselves of around 200,000 casualties.

Above Captured Waffen-SS men under guard by British paratroopers. They were lucky. When SS units involved in the Normandy fighting started murdering Allied prisoners, many were killed in their turn when captured.

> The British tanks were ambushed by anti-tank guns, pounded by 88mm guns, and counterattacked by the I SS Panzer Division.

COMING NEXT

A History of the BRITISH ARMY IN 25 BATTLES
IMPHAL, 1944

IMPHAL

8 MARCH-3 JULY 1944

While the Battle of Caen raged in Normandy, General Bill Slim's 14th Army was fighting a very different sort of battle on the borders of India. And if Caen pointed to one sort of post-war role for the British Army – that of Cold War deployment on the North German Plain – Imphal pointed to another – that of late-imperial counterinsurgency in jungle, bush, and desert.

The *Military History Monthly* History of the British Army in 25 Battles is being run in collaboration with the National Army Museum. Our special thanks are due to Alastair Massie, Head of Archives, Photographs, Film, and Sound.

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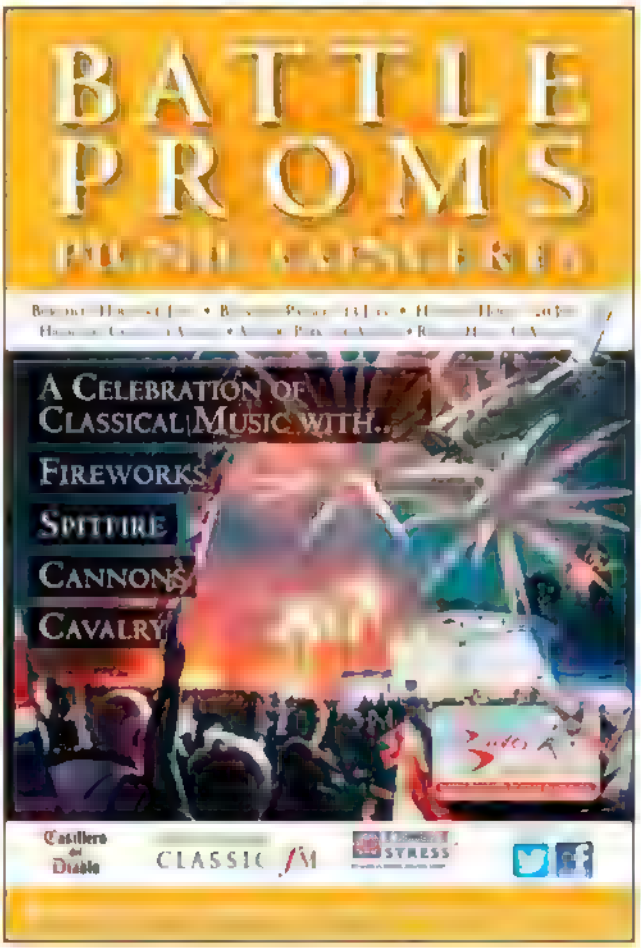
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GETTYSBURG

THE CONFEDERATE INVASION

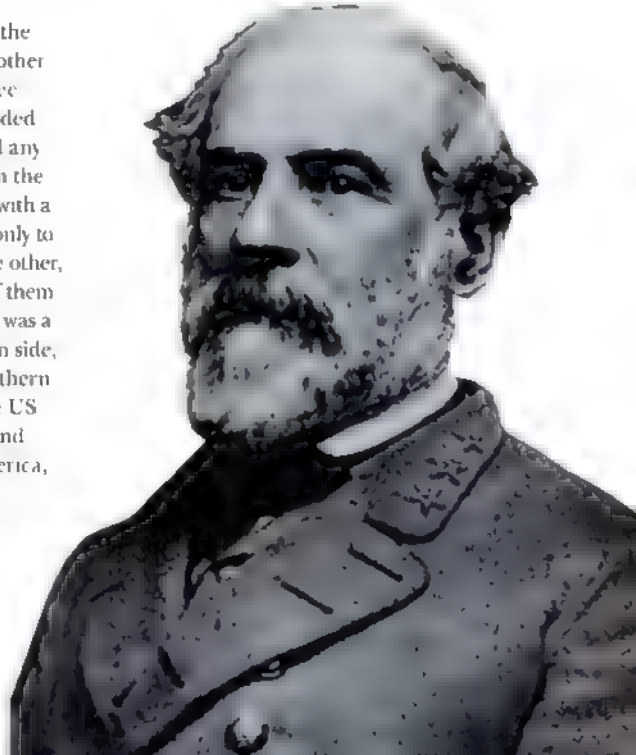
Part 1

Gettysburg was the greatest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere. Its significance matched its scale. The Union victory meant that slavery was doomed, and that the USA would be reconstituted as a single nation and set on a path to superpower status. Marking 150 years since it was fought, **Julian Brazier** begins a four-part series on this most pivotal and iconic of American battles.

In June 1863, the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was advancing north. Mile after mile of marching men were kicking up dust, their tattered clothing a mixture of grey, blue, and homespun butternut, topped by large floppy sunhats. Many were barefoot, but each carried a gleaming modern rifled musket and most had a captured US Army blanket-roll.

Their commander was the man whom General Winfield Scott, erstwhile conqueror of Mexico and now ageing Union Commander-in-Chief in Washington, had described as 'the bravest and best officer in the Army' Opposed to breaking up the Union and intent on freeing all his own family's slaves, Robert E Lee had nonetheless refused command of the US Army and decided to defend his native Virginia as a Confederate

Lincoln's genius had secured the support of Kentucky and three other slave states, as well as all the free states. Indeed, America was divided so unequally that many believed any struggle must be swiftly over. On the one side, over 20 million people with a manufacturing capacity second only to that of the British Empire; on the other, nine million people, one third of them slaves, whose only heavy industry was a single foundry. On the Northern side, the Regular Army (less 300 Southern officers who had resigned), the US Navy, 90% of all locomotives, and every armaments factory in America,



Top The Army of Northern Virginia on the march – ragged, ill-fed, but superb in battle – and its commander, General Robert E Lee **[right]**, the South's most brilliant and charismatic military leader.

on the Southern, some state militias and a lot of cotton

Yet, by the summer of 1863, two years of bloody war had reverberated across the continent. West of the mighty Allegheny Mountains, Union forces had advanced on a 1,000-mile front, stretching in an arc to well beyond the Mississippi. Along the coastline, the US Navy was tightening its blockade, and amphibious actions had seized a series of objectives, including New Orleans. The 'Anaconda' strategy, formulated by General Scott before his retirement, was slowly crushing the Confederacy

The Eastern Front

But the eyes of the world were focused on the Eastern Front. Between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic Seaboard was Virginia, with Washington and Richmond, the rival capitals, just 90 miles apart. For two years, the morning papers from London to Tokyo had thrilled with reports from the five separate campaigns in which the North had dispatched the best equipped armies the world had ever seen to seize Richmond and crush the rebellion.

Most Northern soldiers were citizen troops like their Southern counterparts, but their core was the US Regular Army and their *matériel* reflected Northern economic supremacy. Each fortnight, Union artillery fired more ammunition than the entire reserves of the Confederacy. In the wake of the guns came long lines of carts carrying ammunition, food, fodder, and every accoutrement of war for use against the Unions' ragged, and frequently starving, opponents.

Somehow, each of these expeditionary forces had been defeated, and once, in the summer of 1862, the Confederates had struck north, only to be stopped at Antietam Creek, north-west of Washington, by an army three times the size of the exhausted, ill-shod Southerners. Yet the Confederates had fallen back in good order, with huge quantities of captured equipment after paroling some 12,000 prisoners. 'Lee's army', wrote Winston Churchill, 'carried the hopes of the Confederacy on their bayonets and made a struggle unsurpassed in history.'

Now they were marching north again, lean and spare, the tattered soldiers of regiment after Southern regiment, their ▷

Above Jackson's men emerge from the dense brush of the Wilderness and crash into the Union flank at Chancellorsville on the evening of 2 May 1863. This surprise flank attack delivered a crushing victory in what must be regarded as Lee's tactical masterpiece. Chancellorsville set the stage for Gettysburg.

banners fluttering in the breeze, the men chattering in the ranks or singing along to the rustic bands who accompanied them. The Gettysburg campaign, the pivotal contest of the Civil War, had begun.

'Fighting Joe' Hooker

The Gettysburg campaign was built on the foundation laid by Lee's brilliant victory at Chancellorsville in May 1863, a few weeks earlier. The Chancellorsville campaign had been the fifth Union thrust at the Confederate capital. The Union commander, 'Fighting Joe' Hooker, had 134,000 men at his disposal that April, and he planned a two-pronged assault.

Two corps of his army were to fix Lee's force at Fredericksburg, overlooking the Rappahannock River, where it had, in February, bloodily repulsed a frontal assault. Meanwhile, five other corps were to march north-west, cross the Rappahannock and its tributary the Rapidan, and fall on Lee's left flank and rear. Hooker meanwhile dispatched most of his cavalry, some 10,000 men, in a deep strike into Lee's rear, designed to cut his supplies and communications.

Hooker's plan went like clockwork. His four corps crossed the Rapidan and Rappahannock, almost without firing a shot, and massed in a wild area of closely packed scrub, known as 'the Wilderness', around a tiny hamlet called Chancellorsville. As the fifth corps approached, on Mayday morning, he ordered his army to advance along three roughly parallel roads, with a boastful order

Above General 'Fighting Joe' Hooker (1814-1879). McDowell, McClellan, Pope, and Burnside had all failed to lead the Army of the Potomac to victory. Now Lincoln tried Joseph Hooker. "I have the finest army on the planet," Hooker announced. "I have the finest army the sun ever shone on... If the enemy does not run, God help them. May God have mercy on General Lee, for I will have none." But it was Hooker who ran at Chancellorsville.

Left The Battle of Chancellorsville, 1-3 May 1863. Leaving 10,000 men at Fredericksburg, Lee marched west with the remainder of his army to confront Hooker, who was advancing on the Confederate rear. He then divided his army again, sending 26,000 men under Jackson on a wide flanking march, while he fixed Hooker's massive army with just 15,000 men. It worked. As Jackson's men crashed out of the brush on the evening of 2 May, the surprise was complete. The Union flank was in the air and collapsed immediately. Hooker went to pieces, and soon had his entire army in retreat.

Above General Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson (1824-1863) – Lee's 'right arm'. **Above right** Jackson was shot down by a surprised Confederate picket when returning to camp late on the evening of 2 May 1863 (the contemporary reconstruction is a romanticised version, which shows him falling in the thick of the battle). He died of pneumonia on 10 May. His last words were 'Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees.'

to hearten them: 'Our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out... and give us battle... certain destruction awaits him.'

Hooker's problem was that, stripped of his cavalry screen, the pickets of 'Jeb' Stuart, Lee's colourful cavalry commander, had shadowed him most of the way, keeping Lee carefully posted. With Longstreet away with two divisions, foraging for his starving army, the Confederate commander had barely 60,000 men, and he could see Sedgwick putting pontoons across the river directly below his position. Nevertheless he acted decisively: leaving a single division at Fredericksburg to face Sedgwick, he marched to meet the main force with five divisions, and Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson, commander of the Confederate 1st Corps, in the vanguard.

Encountering two of the enemy columns, on the afternoon of Mayday, Jackson plunged straight into the attack. To the dismay of his corps commanders, Hooker ordered a halt and entrenched. Jackson and Lee had read their opponent correctly: 'Fighting Joe' was all talk.

Jackson's flank march

In the boldest move of the war to date Lee ordered Jackson to march off round the Union right flank on a little-known path. After a night of reconnaissance Jackson left with three divisions and 'Jeb' Stuart's cavalry, leaving Lee with just two divisions, barely 15,000 men, to face the army of 80,000 massing to his front. He had divided his heavily outnumbered army into three: a massive gamble.

After a wearing march starting before dawn, Jackson's troops reached position only about two hours before sunset. On the way, the column was seen in the distance down a crossing track. Ex-Congressman General Dan Sickles, the only non professional corps commander in Hooker's army, attacked the tail of the column, forcing Jackson to detach two brigades to hold them. Convinced that his enemy was withdrawing, Hooker sent orders to Sedgwick to press across the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg and crush Lee's rearguard.

After a long day's marching in the heat, Jackson's main body arrived to find that 'Jeb' Stuart's cavalry had discovered the Federal right flank totally unprepared. It was manned by the 12th Corps, many of whom were German-speaking; for the English-speaking majority, 'Deutsch' had become 'Dutch', and the rest of the Union army was suspicious of these 'Dutchmen'. Thinking there were several divisions between themselves and the enemy, they were mostly facing south.

Jackson gave trenchant orders for his ten remaining brigades to form two lines a mile-and-a-half long – five in front, five behind. They were to attack astride a road, using this as the axis of their eastward advance. 'Under no circumstances is there to be any pause ▷

in the advance,' Jackson declared. He looked about, and seeing so many familiar faces from the militia college in which he had taught, his beloved Virginia Military Institute (VMI), he remarked: 'The Institute will be heard from today.'

Jackson's onslaught

By the time the Confederates had formed line in the thick thorn-filled brush, there was only two hours' daylight left. Suddenly a long line of screaming Confederates with shredded uniforms burst out of the woods onto the 'Dutchmen', and drove them into headlong flight.

Their English-speaking commander, the one-armed General Howard, sat on his horse trying to stem their flood, a flag clamped under his stump, while his other arm struggled to control his mount. But he was powerless and had to watch them stream past in rout.

On the right, however, the attack slowed as the southernmost brigade commander halted, convinced an attack was coming from his flank. This stopped the whole effort south of the road, so the attack force was now down to just six brigades against four federal corps – with a fifth fast approaching.

Hearing Jackson's guns, Lee attacked from his end with his small force and began driving the forces opposite him back. Finding himself beset on three fronts, and knowing that he had superior numbers, Hooker should have calculated that this meant that Lee had divided his much weaker force and could therefore have been destroyed in detail – a point which General Sickles was to reiterate afterwards. Instead, Hooker gave orders for his army to fall back northwards towards the Rappahannock, while frantically repeating his order to Sedgwick to attack Lee's rearguard entrenched above Fredericksburg.

Jackson tried to press his attack home during the night, but his exhausted troops became bogged down in the thick scrub. Reconnoitring too far forward, he ran into friendly fire and was severely wounded. He passed command to his senior divisional commander, Powell Hill. Hill was badly wounded shortly afterwards, and he in turn handed over to 'Jeb' Stuart, who arrived from the flank filled with fire but unfamiliar with the complicated tactical situation.

At first light, both Stuart and Lee pushed on, and Stuart found that Hooker had ordered a protesting Sickles to abandon Fairview, the dominant high ground in his position. Stuart massed his artillery there to speed the Union flight and allow the two grey wings to reunite. For a short spell, Lee seemed to have the long-sought opportunity to break the Union army, but grave news arrived.

Sedgwick's assault

Sedgwick had used a combination of skilful manoeuvre and overwhelming numbers to brush aside Early's lone Confederate division at Fredericksburg and was advancing on Lee's rear. Lee dispatched a single division, commanded by McLaws, to hold them. In fact, the Union men were heavily delayed by a single brigade, whose enterprising commander had got wind of the threat and detached himself in time to harry the advancing enemy. McLaws dug in behind him and bloodily repulsed Sedgwick's leading division. Meanwhile, as evening approached, Early reported to Lee that he had only withdrawn a short distance and was available to counter-attack.

Lee saw his moment and, after a dawn reconnaissance of Hooker's lines, ordered Anderson's division to march east, then rode to take charge, leaving Stuart to co-ordinate the other three divisions and his cavalry against the main Union force, with orders to demonstrate as if a resumption of the Confederate attack was imminent.

Once again, he was dividing his army in the face of a superior enemy. His gamble paid off, and Hooker remained supine, though Anderson's slowness in getting into position left little daylight for an assault into country dotted with thickets and ravines. Fog preceded dusk, and the Confederate attack petered out as night fell. Lee tried to continue, but his exhausted soldiers made little progress, and by morning Sedgwick's corps had escaped across the river.

Lee marched his weary three divisions back to join Stuart's half of the army, to find that Hooker had withdrawn before the much smaller Confederate force and escaped across the swollen river under the cover of heavy rain.

Lessons of war

When told that Jackson's left arm had been amputated, Lee remarked, 'He has lost his left arm. I have lost my right.' He had sorely missed him in the blunders of the previous two days, after Jackson's brilliant flanking manoeuvre had started the battle so well. Jackson soon passed away, and Lee would miss him even more in the bitter struggles yet to come.

Still, the lessons of Chancellorsville remained similar to those of previous campaigns: his cavalry could be relied on to keep him fully informed of enemy movements; his 'mission command' style of giving objectives to subordinates and letting them decide the 'how to' had again enabled him to wrong-foot the micro-managed Union Army of the Potomac, even after losing Jackson's magic; his problem once again had been that greatly superior numbers had allowed his opponent to call on fresh reserves to save him from destruction at the crisis point.

For most of the Union corps commanders, the main lesson had been that another commander-in-chief had grievously let them down. If their

Below Confederate dead on Marye's Heights, overlooking the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, pictured after the position had been stormed by Sedgwick's Unionists.

greatly superior infantry numbers and artillery could be brought to bear on reasonable ground, they should be able to win despite the unspoken superiority of the individual Confederate infantryman. They and their soldiers had been willing to fight, but many had barely had a chance to fire a shot.

For Howard, commander of the 'Flying Dutchmen' as they now were known, it was all humiliation. For one of the commanders, Dan Sickles, politician turned soldier, the perspective was bitter. His corps had been the only one in the main body to attack, had taken by far the heaviest casualties, and had been driven off the high ground not by the enemy but by the orders of a commander he despised. The problem, the egotistical ex-Congressman confided to friends, was that West Pointers were gutless and the army needed a man like him in charge.

As news of the disaster reached the North, Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, commented, 'My God, it is horrible... and to think of it – 130,000 magnificent soldiers so cut to pieces by less than 60,000 half-starved ragamuffins!' Within weeks, the city had seen a peace march attended by 30,000 people, and public disorder was brewing – disorder which was to become by summer the most serious rioting in American history.

Above The Battle of Chancellorsville, 4-6 May. General John Sedgwick, in control of a quarter of the Union army, had stormed and taken the Confederate trenches at Fredericksburg, driving Jubal Early's heavily outnumbered Southerners back. Hooker's retreat allowed Lee to shift his entire centre of gravity back to the east. Leaving Stuart to keep Hooker on the run, he counter-attacked and threw Sedgwick back over the Rappahannock.

Lee's vision

Yet it was clear to Lee that Chancellorsville had solved nothing for the South. With its huge population and steady influx of newcomers, the Union could afford to lose 17,000 soldiers again and again. The Confederacy could not suffer the nearly 13,000 casualties it had lost at Chancellorsville many times more – and still put a credible army in the field.

To add to his problems, he received a request from the Confederate Cabinet to dispatch Longstreet with two divisions to the Western Theatre to try to break the desperate siege at Vicksburg. He wrote advising that he believed this course deeply unwise, and rode to Richmond to meet the Cabinet. Afterwards he said, 'It resolved itself into a choice of one of two things: either to retire to Richmond and stand a siege which must ultimately have ended in surrender or to invade Pennsylvania.'

> My God, it is horrible... 130,000 magnificent soldiers so cut to pieces by less than 60,000 half-starved ragamuffins!
>
> *Horace Greeley*

Nobody in Richmond knew how very near Vicksburg was to the end, but Lee believed that no reinforcements he could spare would transform the situation there. The Confederacy could never win a military victory at the strategic level; for him, their only hope lay in breaking the political will of the Northern people to prosecute this bloody and expensive war. That could only be achieved by a decisive blow in the East – while the Army of Northern Virginia was still strong enough to deliver it.

Each time he had driven back Union armies, his opponent had escaped with most of his force intact, usually because superior number had left him with reserves to cover his withdrawal. Yet intelligence reports now told of numbers of Union soldiers, even whole units, signed on originally for two-year terms of engagement, leaving the colours. The Army of the Potomac was shrinking to its smallest size since the first campaign of the war. This, surely, was the South's golden opportunity.

Lee proposed to gather all the units belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia to tackle the Union force on nearer equal terms than he had ever enjoyed before – and could ever hope to enjoy again. His military aim was the destruction of the Army of the Potomac. With the mid-term Congressional elections due shortly, and peace rallies sweeping the North, his underlying goal was to break the political will underpinning the Lincoln administration's war effort.

Lee's strategy

The Confederate Cabinet endorsed the broad thrust of Lee's planned invasion of the North, but Jefferson Davis, whose micro-management was a constant frustration to Lee, refused permission for him to recover five detached brigades, totalling 11,000 men. None was carrying ▷

Hagerstown
Williamsport
Sharpsburg
Frederick
Harpers Ferry
11-15 June
Winchester
Leesburg
Edwards Ferry
Rockville
Aldie
Front Royal
WASHINGTON D.C.
Alexandria
Manassas Junction
Warrenton
Brandy Station 9 June
Dumfries
Culpeper
Fredericksburg
LEE ADVANCES BUT STUART DETACHES HIMSELF EASTWARD
10 Miles
10 Kms

Left The Gettysburg campaign, June 1863. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was usually heavily outnumbered in its struggles with the Army of the Potomac. For once, in the summer of 1863, it was close to parity, and Lee resolved on an all-out effort to break public support for the war in the North with an invasion deep into enemy territory. Screened by Stuart's cavalry, Lee's three army corps were well on their way before Hooker realised what was happening. Then, however, Stuart headed off on a circuitous ride around the Union army that left Lee deprived of intelligence as he headed through Maryland and on into Pennsylvania.

out a crucial role; the largest was sitting in an isolated mosquito-ridden coastal swamp on the coast, its mission long completed. But the Confederate President wanted to ensure a suitable garrison for each of his beloved 'military departments'.

Lee's conception was bold. The army was to advance north-east along the Shenandoah Valley, concealed from the Unionists by the Blue Ridge, with two cavalry brigades screening the gaps in the range. Following Jackson's death, he had reorganised his army into three corps, each of three divisions. 2nd and 3rd Corps were led by former divisional commanders, Generals Dick Ewell and Powell Hill (nominally recovered from his two bullet wounds at Chancellorsville), with the experienced and reliable James Longstreet still commanding 1st Corps. He made one other important change.

Lee's staff was kept very small by President Davis's explicit instructions (nominally only five officers), but Lee needed a discreet way of addressing the shortcomings of its least competent member: artillery chief William Pendleton, who had repeatedly proved ineffective. Though a West Pointer, Pendleton was a pre-war bishop, a presidential favourite, a distant cousin of Lee's, and, crucially, was popular in the only Confederate Army which – thanks to Lee's gentle style – had escaped the bitter personal feuds which raged throughout the South. So Lee abolished his artillery reserve, dividing the guns up among his three highly professional corps artillery-chiefs, leaving Pendleton's duties much diminished.

Ewell's corps was to lead the march striking well beyond Washington, 'requisitioning' provisions in northern Pennsylvania for the whole army. Hill's and Longstreet's corps were to follow. If the army could move undetected, they could concentrate north of Washington, forcing the Union commander to race his army after them, weakened by forced marches, to shield the capital. As it had done so often, the Army of Northern Virginia would manoeuvre a larger Union army off balance, but this time – with the odds much more even – finish it.

'I shall throw an overwhelming force on their advance,' Lee explained, 'crush it, follow up the success, drive one corps back on another, and, by successive repulses and surprises before they can concentrate, create panic and virtually destroy the army.'

Brandy Station

Two days before the secret campaign was to begin, on 8 June, 'Jeb' Stuart insisted on organising a grand review of the Confederate cavalry at Brandy Station. As the carefully groomed, if underfed, men and horses of his command finished their display and crept into their tents, six brigades of US cavalry, commanded by Alfred Pleasanton, were massing on the Rappahannock with orders to 'disperse and destroy' the Rebel cavalry 'assembled at... Culpepper'.

For the first time, the Northern cavalry were challenging Stuart's operational supremacy. Before dawn, Pleasanton had driven in the Confederate pickets so fast that he came close to victory. Somehow, rallying his scattered forces, Stuart retrieved the largest cavalry battle of the war, ending it with lighter casualties than his opponent. Nevertheless, he was left severely embarrassed.

Next day, Ewell's corps set off for the Shenandoah Valley, and Hill's corps followed behind them. For the next fortnight, Stuart ran a brilliant screening operation, fighting three substantial battles and a host of minor skirmishes, so that Union commander General Joe Hooker had no notion that the Confederate army was on the move.

The complexity of this operation kept 'Prince Rupert' – as the self-proclaimed cavalier, Stuart, liked to be nicknamed – tied in frustration to his headquarters. His egotistical soul was mortified to read that the Richmond press was suggesting that the shock at Brandy Station had frightened him away from the sharp end.

The 1st Louisiana Brigade, known as 'the Louisiana Tigers', was the lead brigade of Lee's army as it swept up the Shenandoah Valley. Encountering a strong garrison at Winchester on 13 June, the brigade was ordered to seize a bastion which commanded it. Using an ingenious approach through wooded dead-ground, the brigade, now just 1,200 strong, stormed it and Winchester fell, yielding 4,000 prisoners in exchange for a handful of casualties.

The Tigers then characteristically blotted their copybook with a drunken spree, after their commander, ex-New Orleans lawyer Brigadier-General Harry Hays, issued each man with a pint of whisky. 2nd Corps sped on northward across the Potomac, through Maryland, and into Pennsylvania, with the Tigers sobering up on the march.

Invading Pennsylvania

By 18 June, the final infantry corps, Longstreet's, was on the move. Lee, Longstreet, and Stuart met to discuss how the main body of the cavalry was to travel north, given that the Valley roads were choked with Confederate infantry.

When Lee's formidable irregular scout, John Mosby, reported that the Union corps were in 'scattered condition' and suggested that 'Jeb' Stuart be allowed to take the other three brigades in a flanking movement 'to pass around, or rather through, them', Lee agreed. But – faced with conflicting information on the enemy's movements – he stipulated in his despatch to Stuart: 'In either case, after crossing the [Potomac] River, you must move on and feel the right of Ewell's troops, collecting information, provisions, etc... You will... be able to judge whether you can pass around their armies without hindrance, doing them all the damage you can, and cross the [Potomac] River east of the mountains.'

What they did not know, however, was that much of Joe Hooker's army had shifted and now formed a barrier from the Blue Ridge for many miles to the east. Coming up against this unmistakable 'hindrance', Mosby turned back from his rendezvous with Stuart. In contrast, the cavalier made a desultory attempt to break through, then decided that the way to glory was east, then north, on a route shaving the outskirts of Washington – far from Lee's army.

He had abandoned Lee, just as accurate reports on Confederate movements were at last reaching the Army of the Potomac and Washington. Lee found himself suddenly blinded as he rode north, deep into enemy territory.

To be continued

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Julian Brazier is a former SAS Reserves officer and management consultant. He is now Conservative MP for Canterbury.

Summer Events Guide

Each month, *Military History Monthly*'s 'On Manoeuvres' section brings you details of Britain's finest history-themed activities, from lecture days and air shows, to militaria fairs and re-enactments. With summer soon upon us, we take this opportunity to draw particular attention to six of the best indoor and outdoor events taking place over the coming months.

Weetwood Hall

Weetwood Hall Conference Centre and Hotel is launching its First World War In Retrospect Conference from 28 July 2014 to 1 August 2014. This is to acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War, and will be the first in a series of annual conferences based upon the First World War to be hosted at Weetwood Hall through to 2018. The five-day conference will cater for residential and non-residential participation, with all the accommodation, catering, and events included in the conference programme.

The conference has been planned – by Dr Peter Liddle, Conference Director, and Colonel Alan Roberts, Military Consultant – for like-minded enthusiasts and experts to listen, reflect, network, and acquire a fresh perspective.

All this and more is to be brought to the delegates at this imaginative conference by a team of talented men and women accustomed to sharing their knowledge and enthusiasm with audiences from a wide-ranging interest in the First World War.

Peter Chubb, Development Director for Weetwood Hall said, "I am inspired by what we have achieved in the researching and organising of the extensive programme, quality speakers, and events for our 2014 First World War Conference. Working with Dr Liddle and Colonel Roberts has been a most enjoyable experience."

WHEN: From 28th July 2014 to 1st August 2014
WHERE: Weetwood Hall, Conference Centre & Hotel, Otley Road, Leeds, LS16 5PS
HOW MUCH: For information on prices, please visit the website
WEB: *www.weetwood.co.uk/firstworldwar*

1940s Weekend

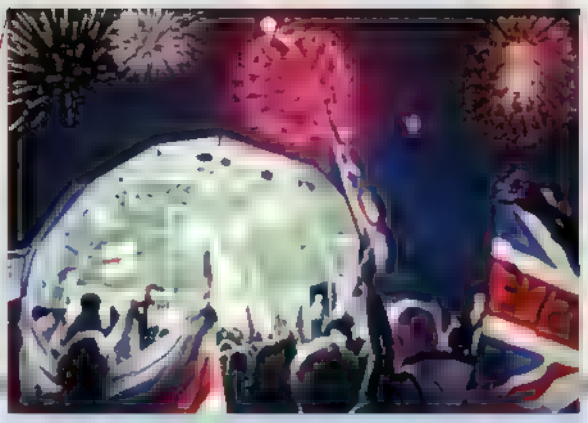
Experience the 1940s lifestyle as the Railway turns back the clock to wartime Britain. Enjoy flying displays by iconic wartime planes – the Hurricane and Spitfire from the Biggin Hill Heritage Hangar – singing by Lady Ella, a polished professional, delivering the sound of the with sophistication and a splash of fun, and dancing from the foot-tapping Cinque Ports Lindy Hoppers. Vintage vehicles and authentic costumes from the period and a 1940s village scene will be on view with wartime cookery demonstrations. Steam trains run all weekend, and your train ticket gains entry to the event and includes unlimited train travel.

WHEN 18th & 19th May
HOW MUCH Adult £16.00, Senior £15.00, Child (3 – 15) £11.00, Family (2 adults 3 children or 1 adult and 4 children) £45.00

'Pack Up Your Troubles' – a Great War weekend

The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment wearing appropriate military and civilian costume are camping at Tenterden' Authentic equipment displayed will include a General Service Wagon, Lewis Machine Gun Cart, and Water Cart. There will be a Casualty Reception Facility, Recruitment Hall, Period Photographs, and Bell Tent encampment. Enjoy Tiger Moth flying displays, drills, demonstrations, and live music. Visitors can also take advantage of a full steam train service to visit the loving restored Cavell Van, built in 1919 and historically significant for conveying the remains of three war heroes, Nurse Edith Cavell, Captain Charles Fryatt and the Unknown Warrior.

WHEN: 29th & 30th June
HOW MUCH Adult £15.00, Senior £14.00, Child (3 – 15) £10.00, Family (2 adults & 3 children or 1 adult and 4 children) £42.00



Battle Proms

The UK's premier picnic concert series, the Battle Proms, takes traditional picnic proms to new heights, with soul-stirring classical music, tear jerking Spitfire displays, cavalry, cannons, and a flag waving, sing-a-long finale of proms favourites with fantastic fireworks.

Starting at Burghley House in Lincolnshire on 6 July, and with five other stunning venues around the country to choose from (including Blenheim Palace and Highclere Castle, now better known as Downton Abbey), the Battle Proms is an exceptional night out not to be missed!

WHEN: 6 July 2013. Gates open 4.30pm. Concert ends approx 10.30pm
WHERE: Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire, PE9 3JY
Other venues:
Blenheim Palace Oxfordshire, 13 July
Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, 20 July
Highclere Castle, Berkshire, 3 August
Althorp Park, Northamptonshire, 10 August
Ragley Hall, Warwickshire, 31 August
HOW MUCH Tickets. £31.50 until 30 April, £34 from 1 May, children (5-15) £16. 4 and under go free. If available, tickets are £39 on the gate
WEB Order online at *www.battleproms.com*
PHONE 01432 355 416 (box office)

History Live!

On Saturday 20 and Sunday 21 July at History Live!, over 2,000 re-enactors and performers will bring Kelmarsh Hall in Northamptonshire to life with the sights and sounds of England through the ages. With thrilling set piece battles, spectacular displays of skill, atmospheric living history encampments, and the chance to get hands-on with history, the flagship English Heritage event promises to be as exciting as ever this year.

Highlights include gripping re-enactments of the Battle of Hastings and The Wars of the Roses, while Drop Zone D-Day sees paratroopers, tanks, and armoured vehicles put on a real spectacle of WWII colour and drama. Popular favourites making an appearance include the knights of the Grand Medieval Joust, as well as the bloodthirsty gladiators of Anglo-Roman Britain.

There will be talks with historical experts covering wide-ranging subjects from the Norman Conquest to the Battle of Bannockburn, as well as a food and drink court with a traditional carvery, a rare-breed barbecue, and a real ale bar. For tickets and info, call 0870 333 1183 or log onto www.historylive.com

WHEN: Saturday 20th and Sunday 21st July 2013
WHERE: Kelmarsh Hall, Harborough Rd Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire NN6 9LY
HOW MUCH: Weekend tickets from £17.50 Adults (members) and £51.50 Family (members)
WEB: *www.historylive.com*

Military Odyssey

As Military Odyssey enters its 13th year the show continues to have re-enactment groups covering 2000 years of history and conflict. Visitors and serious collectors will also have the opportunity to browse hundreds of trader stalls.

See history come alive with Legio Secunda Augusta (Romans),The Hoplite (Ancient Greeks),Regia Anglorum, and the Knights of Draum (Celts, Vikings, Saxons and Normans)

The WWI experience will be moving to a larger area and there will be WWII displays and major battles with tanks, aircraft, and plenty of bangs. Military vehicle owners will be doing a rolling display around the battlefield, and this year we have a large Vietnam contingent with displays and explosive battles, as well as modern desert bastion with weaponry and vehicles.
The event is the world's largest of its type and great family entertainment for all ages.

So, if you and your family are interested in any period of History, then make a date to visit Military Odyssey

WHEN: 24-26 August 2013, 9.30am-6pm
WHERE: Kent Show Ground, Detling, Kent, ME14 3JF
HOW MUCH: *One-day ticket* Adults £15.30, under-15s £9.30, Family ticket £45. *Two-day ticket* Adults £27.50, under-15s £16.75. *Three-day ticket* Adults £41.50, children £25
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Graham Goodlad assesses the military career of General Erich Ludendorff, architect of Germany's final desperate bid for victory on the Western Front in 1918.

LUDENDORFF

Imperial Germany's FLAWED MASTERMIND

Few professional soldiers have exercised as much influence over their country's destiny as General Erich Ludendorff. He and his official superior, Paul von Hindenburg, first came to prominence after they halted Russia's advance into eastern Germany at the start of the First World War. From August 1916 the two men jointly exercised supreme power over both German war-planning and the home front, effectively creating a military dictatorship.

In their partnership, Ludendorff was the one with the drive and the ideas. His attempt to win the war on the Western Front in the spring of 1918, in the so-called 'Ludendorff Offensive', brought Germany greater short-term success than it had achieved in the previous three-and-a-half years. By the autumn, however, unable to sustain their initial gains, Germany's armies had been beaten back by the Allied forces and were on the brink of final defeat.

Early career

The son of an obscure Prussian landowning family, Ludendorff began his military training aged 12. Serious-minded, ambitious, and completely absorbed in his military studies, he gained experience as an infantry officer before progressing to the staff work for which he was really cut out.

In 1905 he was appointed to the Second Section of the General Staff, with responsibility for the mobilisation and deployment of troops – a crucial element in Germany's contingency planning for a war on two fronts. A dispute with his political bosses over the need for increased troop numbers caused Ludendorff to be temporarily relegated to a regimental command in 1913-1914, but his qualities as a planner and organiser ensured his recall to the General Staff on the outbreak of hostilities.

He took a leading role in the capture of the Belgian frontier fortress of Liège, an exploit which marked him out for greater responsibilities when, in mid-August, Russian forces crossed Germany's eastern border much earlier than the high command had anticipated.

LIFE AND CAREER

LUDENDORFF

1865	Born into small landowning family in Posen, Prussia (modern Poznań, Poland).
1877	Enters Army as cadet.
1893	Selected for War Academy.
1905	Joins General Staff with responsibility for troop deployment.
1913	Temporarily relegated to regimental command.
1914	Appointed Chief of Staff to Eighth Army under Hindenburg. Russians expelled from East Prussia in Battles of Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes (August-September).
1916	Appointed Quarter-Master General to Hindenburg as Chief of German General Staff (August).
1918	Plans series of offensives on Western Front (March-July) Dismissed by Kaiser (October). Flees to Sweden after Armistice and writes war memoirs (November)
1923	Participates in Nazis' attempted putsch in Munich
1924	Elected as Nazi member of Reichstag.
1937	Dies aged 72.

The dynamic duo

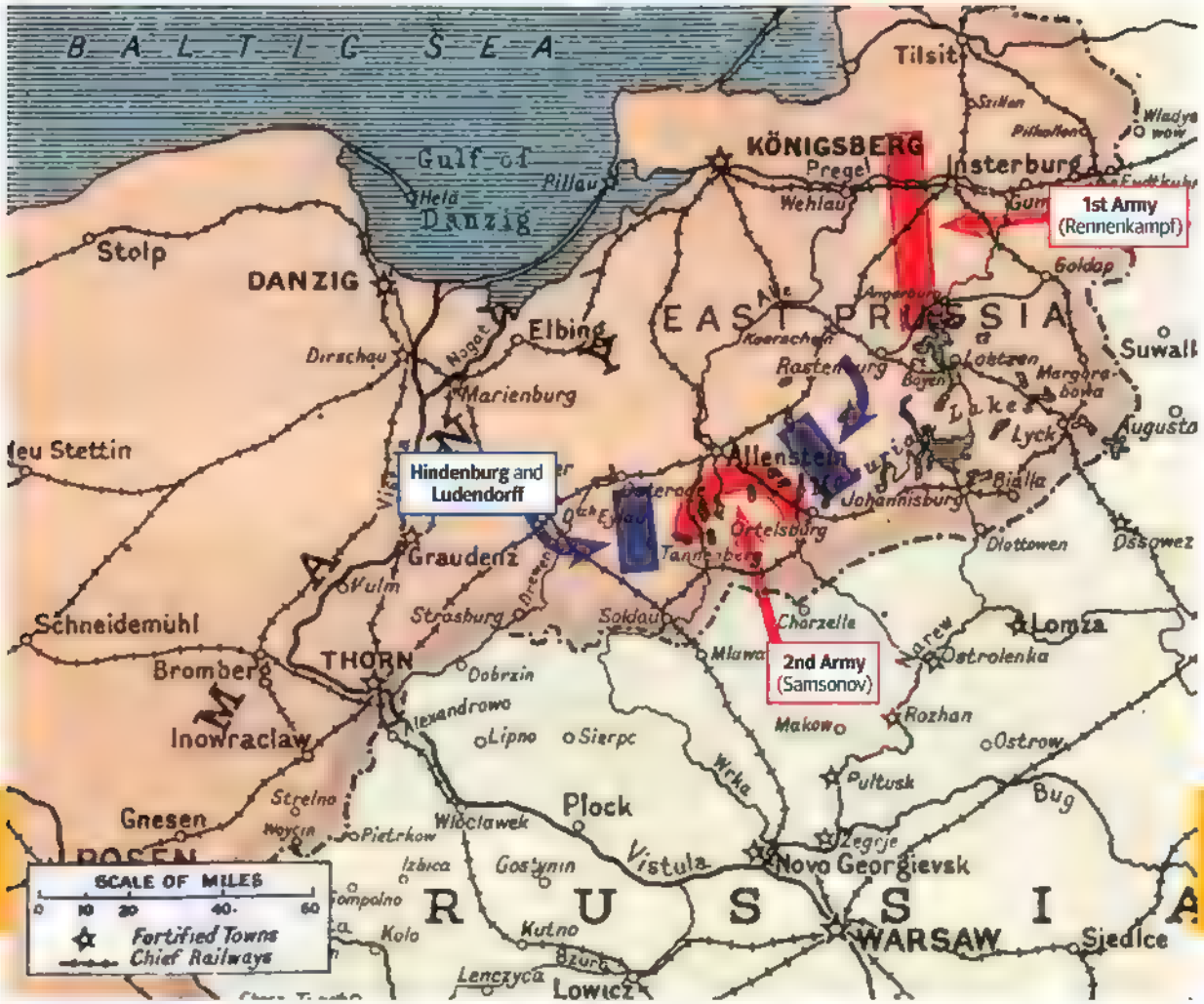
It was at this point that Ludendorff was chosen to serve as chief of staff to General (later Field-Marshal) Paul von Hindenburg, who had been appointed the new commander of the Eighth Army in East Prussia. The two men, whose professional association was to endure almost to the end of the war, met for the first time on their way to stem the Russian onslaught. Hindenburg, 18 years Ludendorff's senior, had retired from the army in 1911 after a long career characterised by solid competence rather than brilliance. He had now been recalled to service to deal with the emergency in the East.

The two men complemented each other in many ways. Hindenburg lacked Ludendorff's fertile brain and addiction to both hard work and intrigue. What he supplied was a massive steadiness and calm, which enabled him to stabilise his hyperactive colleague at times of stress and doubt. The detailed planning may have been Ludendorff's, but he needed Hindenburg's approval and support, and his ability to reassure both the German public and the political elite at times of critical decision-making

Victory in the East

In fact neither man deserved the full credit for the episode which was to

Left General Erich Ludendorff was the greatest German general of the First World War. Tannenberg in August 1914 was a masterpiece of modern manoeuvre, and the Spring Offensive of March-July 1918 shattered a trench-war stalemate that had lasted three-and-a-half years.
Above Hindenburg and Ludendorff won stunning victories at Tannenburg and the Masurian Lakes. Shown here are some of the 90,000 Russian prisoners taken at Tannenburg; another 50,000 were killed or wounded. German losses were just 10,000.
Below German troops pose on the shattered wreckage of a gun emplacement at the Belgian frontier fortress of Liège in August 1914. Ludendorff distinguished himself, playing a central role in its capture.



make their reputations: the defeat of the Russians at the Battle of Tannenberg in the last week of August 1914. Germany's defenders were fortunate that the invading forces were advancing over adverse terrain, with General Rennenkampf's First Army to the north-east and General Samsonov's Second Army to the south of a 50-mile chain of lakes.

The key to victory was the decision to leave a small holding force to confront Rennenkampf, whose slower-moving army constituted a less serious threat, and to use the railway system to concentrate the bulk of the German forces against Samsonov – an insight which had been grasped by the Eighth Army staff before the arrival of its new commanders.

Ludendorff had arrived at the same conclusion independently, using maps and reports while still travelling to the scene – an indication of the way in which staff training in the German army encouraged a uniformity of approach. The Germans were also helped by the fact that the Russian forces were tired, poorly supplied, and lacked access to local communications. They suffered from poor co-ordination and, by making use of unencoded radio messages, played into the Germans' hands, giving them important information about their movements. The result was the encirclement of Samsonov's army, with 90,000 Russian troops captured and 50,000 dead and wounded.

Tannenberg was followed in the second week of September by the rout of Rennenkampf's First Army at the Battle of the Masurian Lakes. The victory was prevented from turning into a complete encirclement only by the remarkable speed of the Russian withdrawal from East Prussia.

It was Hindenburg who received most of the credit, with some of the more fanciful stories claiming that he had planned the entire operation while walking the area during his pre-war retirement. Ludendorff did not gain a national profile comparable with that of Hindenburg, but the expulsion of the invaders enhanced his prestige with his peer group. He was content to work behind the scenes, concerning himself with the detail of planning while Hindenburg served as the public face of the high command.

Above The Battle of Tannenberg, 26-31 August 1914. Two factors made the victory possible: the Masurian Lakes, which forced wide separation between the two converging Russian armies (shown on the map in red); and the configuration of the East Prussian rail network, which permitted the smaller German forces (in blue) to be moved rapidly, so as to destroy the Russians in detail. After destroying the 2nd Army, the Germans turned on the Russian 1st Army and drove it into headlong retreat at the First Battle of the Masurian Lakes, 9-14 September 1914.

Ascent to power

Hindenburg and Ludendorff remained in charge of Germany's Eastern Front operations for almost two years after these impressive but not conclusive victories. These were years of frustration for the two men. An unsympathetic Chief of the General Staff, Erich von Falkenhayn, denied them the reinforcements with which they claimed, they could annihilate the Russian enemy.

The situation changed in their favour in August 1916. Falkenhayn's standing with the Kaiser was undermined by the abortive six-month-long assault on the fortress of Verdun, and by his failure to anticipate Romania's entry into the war on the enemy side. Hindenburg at last took charge of the General Staff, with Ludendorff taking the position of Quartermaster-General – a title which failed to do justice to the diversity or intensity of his workload.

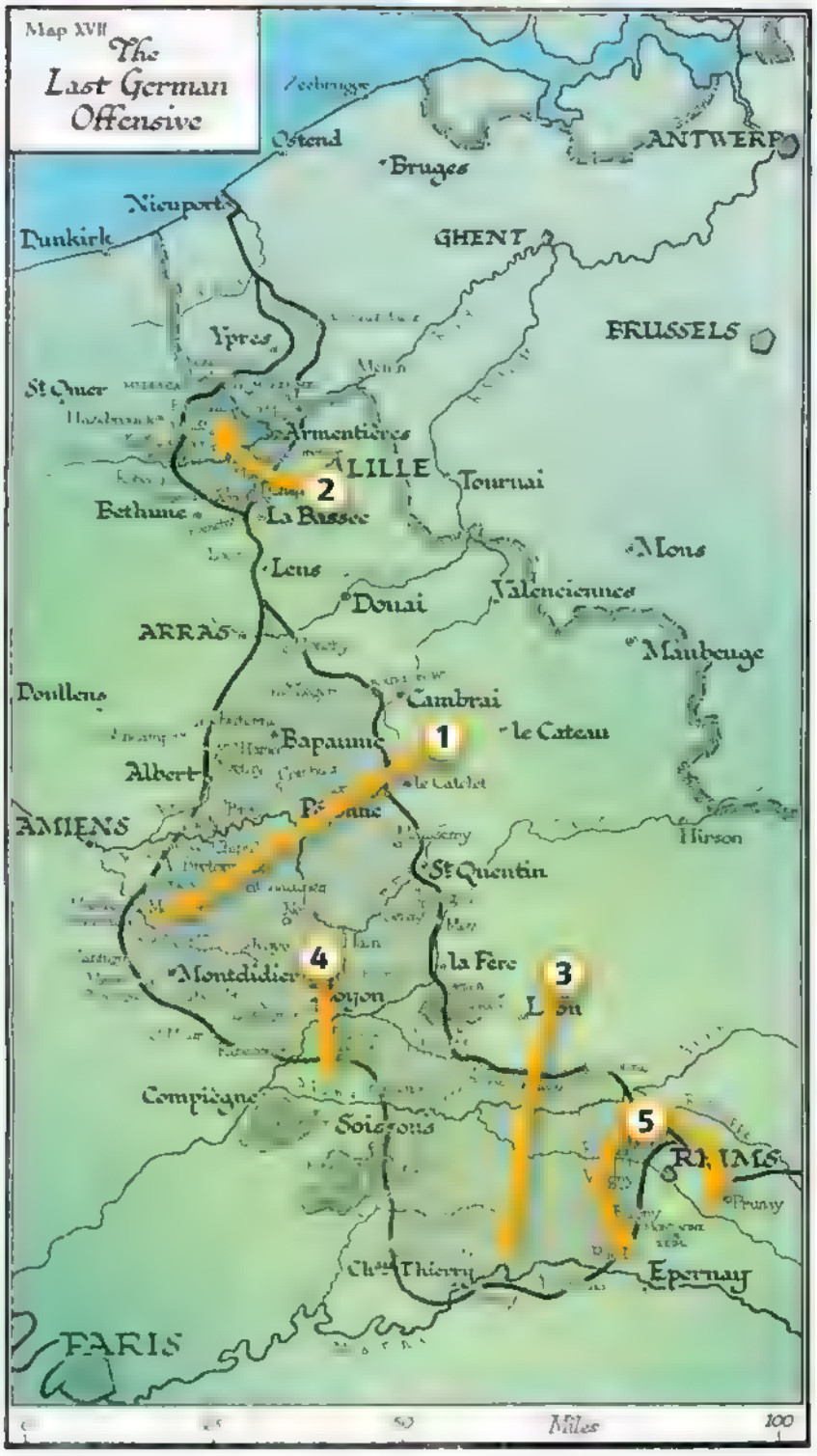
Ludendorff responded to the German Army's failure to secure victory on the Western Front by rejecting the traditional reliance on heavily defended front-lines, with their high cost in casualties. Instead he constructed huge defences on a shorter line in the rear – the Hindenburg or Siegfried Line – to which German forces retreated early in 1917.

> Ludendorff aimed to draw the attackers into a zone riddled with trenches, bunkers, and machine-gun emplacements, and criss-crossed with fire.

Above Lords of war: Hindenburg (centre right, front row), Ludendorff (centre, second row), and their staff. They established a virtual military dictatorship over Germany in the second half of the war.

Underlying this move was a new and more flexible concept of defence, with troops placed in forward, battle, and rear zones to a total depth of between six and eight miles. The defenders would be prepared to withdraw from their front-line trenches if they came under heavy assault, drawing the attackers into a zone riddled with trenches, bunkers, and machine-gun emplacements, and criss-crossed with fire.

At the same time Ludendorff involved himself in a multitude of activities designed to mobilise the nation and its economy for total war. The General Staff intervened in the organisation of industry and the allocation of manpower, and increasingly enforced its will in domestic politics.



Above The Spring or Ludendorff Offensive of March-July 1918 was really five successive offensives of decreasing power and effectiveness – ending with German exhaustion, and the beginning of the Allied counter-offensive that ended the war.

1. The First or Somme Offensive (Operation Michael), 21 March-5 April.
2. The Second or Lys Offensive (Operation Georgette), 9-29 April.
3. The Third or Aisne Offensive (Operation Blucher-Yorck), 27 May-6 June.
4. The Fourth or Noyon-Montdidier Offensive (Operation Gneisenau), 9-13 June.
5. The Fifth or Champagne-Marne Offensive (Operation Friedensturm), 15-19 July.

The strain of four years of unrelenting pressure had taken its toll on the highly strung Ludendorff.

Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, who clashed with Hindenburg and Ludendorff over their insistence on unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917, was the highest-profile figure to lose his job as a result of their machinations. At one point it was suggested that Ludendorff himself might become Chancellor; but he preferred to engineer the appointment of compliant individuals and keep focused on what he regarded as the main task – defeating the Entente powers on the Western Front

The gambler's last throw

The sinking of merchant shipping by German U-boats had not brought Britain to its knees, but had helped to bring the USA into the war in April 1917. The prospect of American reinforcements arriving in Europe presented a new threat to German hopes of victory. Meanwhile, continuing British attacks on the Western Front, culminating in November with the use of massed tanks at Cambrai, had taken a heavy toll on German resources. As the British blockade of Baltic ports tightened, causing growing misery on the home front, it became clear that the balance of forces was moving in favour of the Entente.

Ludendorff placed his hopes in a new offensive in the West, designed to force the British to come to terms before American troops could arrive in large enough numbers to make a real difference. A window of opportunity presented itself during the winter, as Russia withdrew from the war following the Bolshevik Revolution. This enabled the Germans to transfer forces from the Eastern Front for a spring offensive in France

The 'Ludendorff Offensive' in fact consisted of a series of separate assaults on Allied positions between March and July 1918. The first of these, 'Operation Michael' sought to drive a wedge between the British and French armies, before

turning north to drive the British back and trap them against the Channel coast.

Unprecedented quantities of manpower and equipment were assembled. The German Army's acknowledged artillery expert, Colonel Georg Bruchmüller, orchestrated an intense bombardment, before detachments of highly trained, well-equipped assault troops – 'stormtroopers' – were deployed to overrun enemy positions. They advanced an impressive 40 miles into enemy territory, gaining in a matter of days all the ground that the British had taken in five months' fighting during the Battle of the Somme.

Heading for defeat

The Germans failed to convert their initial 'break-in' into a decisive 'break-through'. The troops suffered heavy casualties, and they struggled to move their artillery forward over terrain which had been churned up in earlier fighting. Their extended front offered vulnerable flanks to enemy counter-attacks, and was hard to retain.

Once the British line had steadied, and French assistance arrived, the inequality of resources between the two sides started to assert itself. At the start of the Spring Offensive, for example, Germany was outnumbered by the allies ten to one in motorised lorries, and those it possessed had inadequate iron wheels. It was also more difficult for the Germans to replace their manpower losses, and their need to maintain an occupation force on the territory annexed from Russia when peace was made on the Eastern Front was an additional drain.

Ludendorff's forces were exhausted and increasingly demoralised by the strain of prolonged campaigning. Scarcity of food and other supplies was an important factor. Stormtroopers were surprised to discover ample British rations, which they paused to loot when they overran enemy positions.

Ludendorff noted with despair the emergence of a 'tired and discontented spirit which was being brought into the army from home'. Troops arriving from Germany were influenced by growing popular opposition to the war and the example of the Bolshevik Revolution – which had effectively ended the war on the Eastern Front. The high command also made the mistake of punishing strikers by pressing them into military service. Their presence in the ranks simply spread the radical infection.

Ludendorff's limitations

The failure of the Spring Offensive revealed much about Ludendorff's shortcomings as a strategist. To a colleague who questioned his plans ▷

SOLDIERS

STORMTROOPS

The Spring Offensive of 1918 was spearheaded by elite stormtroops, chosen from the youngest and fittest men, and organised into so-called 'attack divisions'. They were to receive a disproportionate share of the available artillery support, ammunition, rations, and training, and were armed with a range of weapons: rifles, grenades, light machine-guns, mortars, and flamethrowers. Their task was to infiltrate enemy lines, probing for weak points, and exploiting the battle as it developed. They were to bypass points of determined resistance, leaving these to be dealt with by stronger units that followed behind.

In his autobiography, *Storm of Steel*, army veteran Ernst Junger wrote of the exhilaration of the Offensive: 'the brazen spirit of the attack, the spirit of Prussian infantry, swept through the massed troops... after 44 months of hard fighting they threw themselves on the enemy with all the enthusiasm of August 1914.'

The stormtroops were able to make impressive early gains, but once they had passed beyond the range of supporting German artillery, and encountered enemy defences that they could not overcome, they were much less effective. It also meant that the Germans suffered their heaviest losses of the campaign among their best troops.

Above German stormtroopers in action on the Western Front in spring 1918.

Left German guns move forward during the Ludendorff Offensive. But not fast enough. The stormtroopers ran into trouble as they outdistanced their artillery support. The enemy guns **[above]** were waiting.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Graham Goodlad is Director of Studies at St John's College, Southsea.

Further information

Robert B Asprey, *The German High Command at War: Hindenburg and Ludendorff and the First World War* (1993), John Lee, *The Warlords: Hindenburg and Ludendorff* (2005); and Dennis Showalter, *Tannenberg: Clash of Empires, 1914* (2004)

he replied, 'We make a hole and the rest will take care of itself.' He was too ready to assume that a tactical breakthrough in one place would lead to overall victory as the battle evolved.

On the other hand, he proved unable to focus consistently on one objective, instead allowing a series of assaults to lose momentum one after the other. Michael was followed by Operation Mars, an attack on the British lines at Arras, which failed to start the process of rolling up their defences from south to north. In April an attack across the Lys found a weak spot in the enemy lines but was abandoned in the face of unexpectedly determined resistance. This was followed by a series of equally indecisive attacks on French positions. From July onwards, an exhausted German Army faced a battery of increasingly effective Allied counter-attacks.

The strain of four years of unrelenting pressure had taken its toll on the highly strung Ludendorff. He was badly affected by the deaths of his two much-loved stepsons, who were killed fighting in the German Air Force. By September he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown, and his doctors prescribed a rest cure. When he returned to work he oscillated between acceptance of Allied peace terms and the urge to fight on. At the end of October, barely a fortnight before the German surrender, the Kaiser finally relieved him of his post.

The balance sheet

While Hindenburg emerged from Germany's defeat with his public standing and popularity intact, Ludendorff suffered a very different fate. Cinema audiences cheered the news of his downfall and, following the armistice in November, he judged it prudent to escape in disguise to Sweden. There he began writing his memoirs, a work of predictable self-justification.

Returning to Germany the following year, Ludendorff drifted into extreme right-wing politics. In November 1923 he took part in Adolf Hitler's failed attempt to seize power in Munich. Acquitted at the subsequent trial, he was elected to the Reichstag as a Nazi deputy. In the 1925 presidential election he received a derisory share of the vote, losing heavily to Hindenburg, with whom he now had no contact. He died in 1937, alienated from the Nazi regime, after a retirement in which his own political and religious views had become increasingly eccentric and paranoid.

Most historians have taken a negative view of Ludendorff's military abilities. Dennis Showalter, for example, criticises him for believing that tactical victory would generate strategic success, and all that was needed were more resources: 'for all his native ability and general-staff training, Ludendorff never rose beyond the level of an infantry colonel'.

Yet we must take account of the enormous odds which Ludendorff and the Kaiser's Germany faced. The First World War was a war of military and industrial strength on an unprecedented scale, and Germany simply could not match the enormous reserves of the rival Great Powers which joined the struggle against her. Ludendorff perhaps played his hand as well as could have been expected in the circumstances.

WEAPONRY

TANKS

Ludendorff never embraced armoured warfare. Only 20 German A7Vs (**above**) were built during the First World War. Each required no fewer than 18 men (**right**).

Ludendorff was slow to come to terms with tank warfare. He was understandably unimpressed by the performance of the first British tanks, and the production of lorries and aircraft took priority. Germany did not produce its own tank until the spring of 1918. This was the cumbersome A7V, a 30-tonne monster with an 18-man crew and an effective top speed of 5mph.

Carrying one 57mm cannon and six machine-guns, but with poor armour, limited range, and difficulties in overcoming obstacles, these vehicles were a far cry from the Panzer divisions fielded by Hitler's Reich 25 years later. Only 20 A7Vs were ever built, and the Germans preferred to use captured British machines, which by 1918 were much improved. They did not commission new types of tank until too late in the year.

The Germans were also deficient in the development of anti-tank technology, relying chiefly on field-gun fire at close range, which exposed the crews to danger. Ludendorff partly attributed the shattering defeat at the Battle of Amiens on 8 August, which he famously described as 'the black day of the German army', to an inability to cope with enemy tanks.

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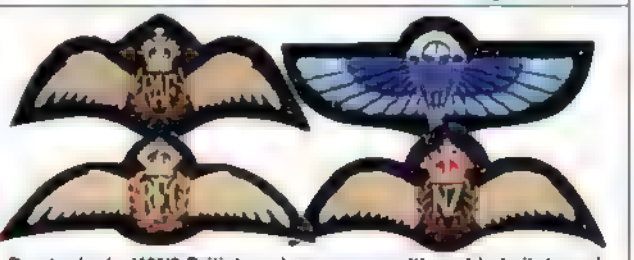

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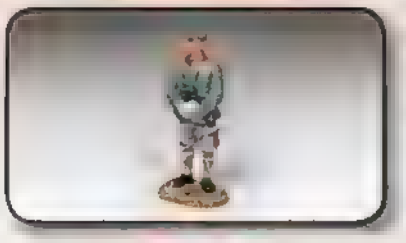

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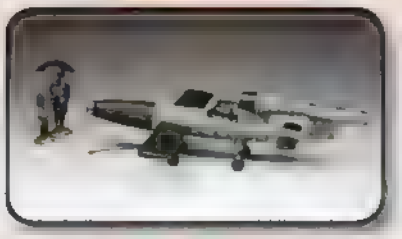

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1/30TH SCALE

1/30TH SCALE

Caged Nazis

GUARDING RUDOLF HESS

Above A portrait of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy from 1933-1941. Why did he fly from Germany to Scotland on 10 May 1941?

Historian **Adrian Greaves** has had a lifetime fascination for top Nazi Rudolf Hess. We asked him to explain.

For many years I have lectured on Nazism and the Holocaust. I have a special interest. I was born during the Second World War, and came into the world as a direct consequence of the existence of none other than Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy.

Towards the end of 1942, my parents had been married for just one year; my father was a junior officer in the Royal Artillery, and was waiting in London for a troopship to take him to India; my mother worked as a typist in one of the government ministries in London.

One year earlier, at about 6pm on the night of 10 May 1941, Hess took off from Augsburg in southern Germany in a Messerschmitt Me 110. As an accomplished aviator and test pilot, Hess was completely familiar with military protocol, and had access to all necessary material such as maps, radio direction beacons, and flight paths. He was also a good friend of Willy Messerschmitt, who designed many of Hitler's fighter planes, giving him full access to the latest military aircraft.

Hess had persuaded his friend to install long-range fuel tanks into the prototype Me 110, ostensibly for Hess to test the aircraft when fully laden with fuel. In reality, it was to enable him to undertake his secret flight.

The Nazi chief flew to Scotland in a misguided mission to persuade Britain to become neutral. Hess's plan was to fly to Scotland, so that he could meet up with Lord Hamilton, whom he had met on a number of occasions prior to the war. Hess wrongly believed that Hamilton had direct access to the King, and that when he offered Britain peace, the King would accept. Had the scheme succeeded, Germany would have been able to turn its full force against Soviet Russia. But it was so far-fetched that no-one apart from Hess himself seems to have known what he had in mind when he set off.

Flight to captivity

Hess's flight was certainly remarkable, especially for being undertaken in darkness. He flew north across Germany, then along the Danish coast until he was opposite Scotland, at which point he crossed the North Sea. Flying below 100 feet, he sped on towards Glasgow.

He then gained altitude in order to parachute safely onto Lord Hamilton's estate, leaving his aircraft to crash nearby, having successfully evaded both German and British interceptors. He emerged from his adventure completely unscathed, except that he had injured his ankle on landing.

Hess was arrested, and for the next few days was interviewed by military and security officials. The British government totally ignored Hess's proposals for peace, much to his astonishment, and interned him for the remainder of the war. He was initially sent to the Tower of London, and then on to Wales.

In late 1942, my father was detailed to be part of the guard party that escorted him from Wales to a secure country house in Surrey, where Hess spent the remainder of the war. With the prisoner safely delivered, my father then managed to meet up with my mother for the remainder of his weekend leave. Nine months later, with my father now in India, I was born at Caversham near Reading – in the middle of a nearby air-raid!

Eastbourne and Berlin

A few years later we moved to Eastbourne, where I grew up. In the 1950s Eastbourne was a popular town with a sizeable international student population. I met regularly with young German students. I was always curious about the material and psychological reasons for German support for Hitler's war effort, and about the motives of people like Hitler and his top coterie of senior military officers and administrators.

I knew from my maternal grandfather, a German refugee to the UK following the First World War, that Germany was one of the most cultured European countries in the 1930s. I later discovered that my German fiancée's deceased father, a colonel in the German Army, had been a member of the secret circle which had tried to kill Hitler – and that he had died as a result. My life-story seemed to be intimately connected to the history of Nazi Germany.

At the age of 17, I joined the Army, completing my officer training a few days after my 18th birthday – the passing-out parade was taken by the Minister for War, Sir John Profumo, accompanied by his wife, the actress Valerie Hobson. I was posted to the Welch Regiment in West Berlin.

As a young man, it was a fascinating time to be in Berlin. I was a platoon commander with some 30 soldiers, mostly National Servicemen, all older than me. The Berlin Wall had just been built to separate West Berlin, controlled by the Allies, from the Russian half of the city, much to the consternation of the Berliners and the Western powers, so we spent much of our time on patrol along the line that now divided this traditional German capital.

During my tour in Berlin, I developed my interest in German history and frequently volunteered for duty as guard commander at the nearby Spandau Prison, which housed the three remaining German war criminals from WWII: Hitler's deputy Rudolph Hess, Baldur von Schirach, former ▷

Left Hess was a friend of Willy Messerschmitt, designer of the famous fighters. He made his flight in a Messerschmitt Me 110, as depicted here.

Below Hitler with Nazi leaders, including Rudolf Hess (second from the left), c.1923.

governor of Austria; and Albert Speer, Hitler's architect and munitions minister. Curiously, I was to learn that all three had previously had strong affiliations with the British.

Hess

Rudolf Hess was born in 1894 into a respectable German family then living in Cairo. His father was an influential businessman who conducted extensive trade with both the Egyptians and British, then the colonial power in Egypt.

The young Hess learned English to the point that he became completely bilingual. Acknowledged as academically brilliant, he was offered a place at Cambridge University, but chose instead to study in Germany. During WWI, Hess fought at Ypres, before joining the German Air Force.

Hess was fascinated by Hitler and the infant Nazi Party from their earliest appearance on the political scene. He became a member, and participated in the infamous 'Beer Hall Putsch' in Munich that resulted in his and Hitler's brief spell of imprisonment at Landsberg Prison in 1923.

While in prison, Hess acted as Hitler's secretary, and recorded Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. From this point in time, Hess became Hitler's most loyal follower, and in 1934 he was appointed deputy leader of the party and minister without portfolio in the new Nazi government.

In 1946 he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for war crimes at the Nuremberg Trials.

Below Spandau Prison in 1983. The building was razed to the ground in 1987, and the rubble dumped in the North Sea to avoid its location being used as a Nazi shrine.
Bottom The cell of Rudolf Hess in Spandau. By the time Greaves began his tours of duty there, Hess had become deranged, howling like a dog and refusing to engage in any conversation.

Von Schirach and Speer

Baldur Benedikt von Schirach was born in 1907 to an American mother, so his first language was English. He then learned German, but remained able to speak perfect English when it suited him.

The long-standing leader of the Hitler Youth, he was put in charge of Germany's youth movements before being posted to Austria in 1942 as a *Gauleiter* (governor) in Vienna, where he remained until the end of the war.

Schirach was responsible for sending 65,000 Jews from Vienna to concentration camps in Poland, and in a speech on 15 September 1942 he mentioned their deportation as a 'contribution to European culture'. At the Nuremberg Trials, he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, avoiding a death sentence probably because he was one of only two of Hitler's henchmen to denounce the Führer (the other was Albert Speer). Schirach died 8 August 1974.

Albert Speer, born in 1905, was a brilliant but struggling architect when, at the age of 30, he was selected to design homes and offices, firstly for Goebbels, then for Hitler himself. Speer afterwards became the designer chosen to implement Hitler's vision for Germania, the new Nazified Germany.

In February 1942, due to his proven organisational abilities, Hitler appointed Speer Minister of Armaments and War Production for the Third Reich. At the Nuremberg Trials, Speer was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, mainly for the use of forced labour. He escaped the death penalty by accepting moral responsibility for complicity in the crimes of the Nazi regime. He died on the 1 September 1981, in London, while visiting his young mistress.

Talking to Speer

During my tours of duty in Spandau Prison, and because of my interest in German history, I was able to gain access to all three inmates, and I spent many hours discussing various aspects of the war with, especially, Albert Speer. Hess was deranged, which made any conversation with him impossible – he would howl like a dog and walk away from me. Although Schirach was half-American, he immediately

made it clear that he did not wish to talk with me

Speer was totally different. He was already in his 60s when I was posted to West Berlin; he had been a prisoner at Spandau for 15 years, with another five years of his sentence remaining, and prison visits from his family were severely restricted

Over a two-year period we developed a strong rapport. It became almost a friendship, and he seemed to enjoy our long conversations. We discussed everything from world politics to his proposed life on his eventual release from prison

Speer was kind to me; he appreciated that I was still in my late teens and willingly endured my constant questions. For me, it was like being able to speak to a figure from a history book, which of course Speer was, having been Hitler's constant advisor and his armaments minister during the war – though he regularly reminded me that he had never been a member of the Nazi Party

At the time of our conversations, I knew I was in a unique position, and made as much of the opportunity as I could. Speer wanted to know about my home town at Eastbourne, and he took a keen interest in my education, limited as it was, having left school aged 16. Speer would regularly remind me that it was 'far too young to leave school'

Atrocities

At the time of our conversations, just 16 years after the war, I was aware of German wartime atrocities, and we touched on this subject on a number of ▷

Top Baldur von Schirach at the Nuremberg Trials (second row, second from the right). **Inset** Albert Speer photographed in his cell during the trials, 24 November 1945.

occasions. We also discussed in some depth the difficult subject of the German people's acquiescence with Nazism from 1932 to 1939.

He was prepared to discuss his relationship with Hitler, and, even more delicately, the 'final solution', though he was reluctant to talk about the Jews *per se*. He once remarked that the Holocaust had happened only as a result of a meeting at Wannsee in Berlin.

At this infamous meeting, unanimous agreement at the highest level was reached to co-ordinate the 'final solution'. Those present included German government ministers and high-ranking officials; the meeting was chaired by the infamous Heinrich Heydrich. Speer always maintained to me that Heydrich was acting on his own behalf, and not for Hitler.

Speer had not attended the meeting, and always maintained he had no direct knowledge of the Holocaust. It was only after his death in 1976 that I discovered photographs of him visiting a concentration camp – proving what I had always thought, that he had lied to me. Indeed, as armaments minister, his factories had employed concentration-camp prisoners right up to the final German defeat in 1945.

Our conversations were not always easy as, unusually, they frequently involved high-speed walking. To maintain his sanity during his 20-year sentence, Speer set off to 'walk round the world', and he did this by marching along a well-worn track within the large walled prison gardens. He would meticulously record the length of his daily walk and plot his imagined 'progress' on a map of the world in his cell. We regularly discussed his progress, and I was occasionally tasked with ascertaining the dimensions of mountain ranges and deserts. He believed his project would keep him both fit and sane; he was probably right, though his 'walk' remained unfinished at the time of his release from prison in 1970.

Eva Braun

On a number of occasions we discussed Eva Braun, Hitler's long-term mistress, who Hitler married at the war's end just days before the pair committed suicide to avoid capture by the Russians. At Speer's suggestion, I tried to visit the remains of Hitler's bunker, where Hitler and Eva Braun had died, a ruin that was still visible from the west just across the Berlin Wall. On my next official visit to East Berlin, I deviated from my route to the site, only to find it guarded by a VOPO officer (East German *Volkespolizei*). I was permitted to look into the entrance but no more – which was probably just as well, for it was blackened and derelict.

Above Eva Braun – Hitler's long-term mistress, with whom he committed suicide as Berlin was stormed by the Red Army – sitting on the terrace at Berchtesgarten.

From our conversations, it was clear to me that Speer had had a soft spot for Eva, even though he was married with six children. He spent much time with her at Berchtesgarten, Hitler's mountain retreat. He recalled that she frequently went on holiday with the Speer family 'as Hitler was too busy'. Contrary to popular belief, Eva was an attractive young lady, and photographs of her with Speer indicate a strong relationship. Due to his enthusiasm to discuss his memories of Eva, I presumed she was an important part of his life.

Speer was released from Spandau Prison on 1 October 1970, but, because I was then a serving police officer, I had no further contact with him. He became an instant media figure, and concentrated on his extensive memoirs.

As is now known, although seemingly a devoted family man, Speer entered into a strong, secret relationship with a young German woman living in London (the pair had initially corresponded before meeting at his home town of Mannheim). Who she was and what she was doing in London remains unknown. Speer visited London on a number of occasions, and used the opportunity to meet her. It was during one of these visits that he suffered a heart attack and died in his London hotel room – leaving the distraught young lady to telephone his wife with the news!

I visited Germany and Poland last year to conduct further research. In Berlin, there was no sign of Spandau Prison. The whole building had been razed to the ground in 1987. Every brick had then been transported by train to be dumped in the North Sea to prevent the prison location being used as a Nazi shrine. Today the site is occupied by a supermarket.

I still remember Speer with some fondness for having taken such an interest in me, and indulging all my teenage questions. I am possibly the only surviving person who had such access to Albert Speer, and who was able discuss his role in history with the man himself in such detail.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

After military service, **Adrian Greaves** worked as police officer in Kent. Since retiring due to injury, he has worked as a military historian, publishing some 20 books, mainly about the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and Lawrence of Arabia.

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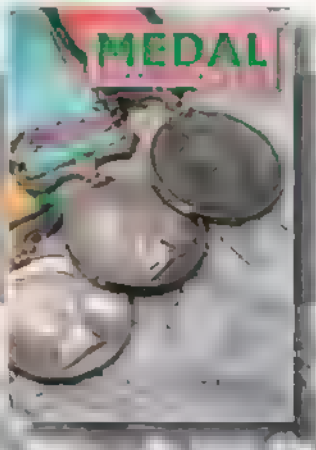

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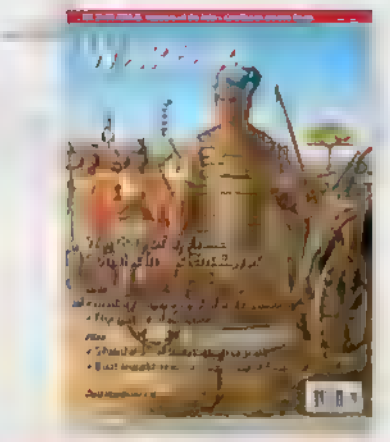

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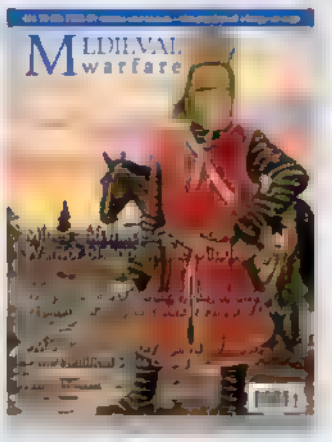

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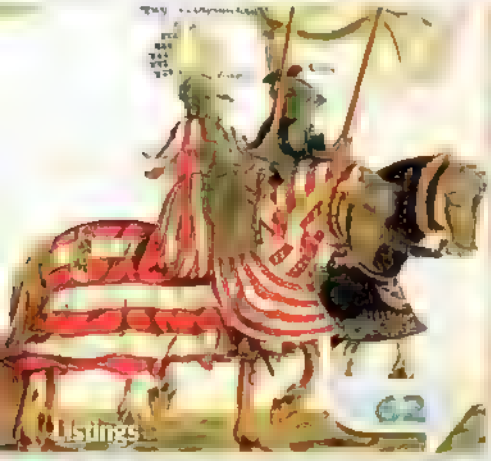
On Manoeuvres

DATES TO REMEMBER

June Military vehicles and machines are the focus of this month's Listings pages. The Cosford Air Show is always a grand spectacle, and this year promises to be no different. Vintage aircraft and aerial acrobatics from the likes of the Red Arrows are sure to satisfy history buffs and thrill-seekers alike. Meanwhile, the Muckleborough Collection rumbles into Weybourne, giving you the chance to interact with a number of tanks and tracked vehicles.

Keith Robinson has been at the Musée de la Grande Guerre, a fascinating WWI museum cantilevered out of the hillsides of Meaux.

For our War Zone, Tom Farrell is in China reporting on the remaining evidence of the Korean War.



DATES TO REMEMBER

EVENT

Blists' Blitz bonanza

Ironbridge's 4 Oak Museum's Blists Hill Victorian Town – one of the ten Ironbridge Gorge Museums in Shropshire – is planning to travel back to the 1940s for the night of 22 June.

Families are invited to arrive in period civilian costume and join in with the town's war-themed Blitz Hill evening, during which the residents will be raising morale on the Home Front with a wide range of entertainments, including music and various other activities.

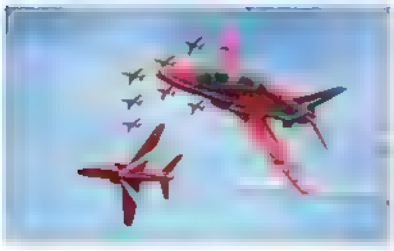
All visitors will be given a ration coupon and can try a spam fritter, but be reassured that the quantities of fish and chips and beer are not subject to rationing.

Blitz Hill – an evening on the Home Front
22 June 2013

£8.50 TICKET

01952 433 424
www.ironbridge...

EVENT



Magnificent flying machines

This year's show brings together a wide variety of aircraft to celebrate three important anniversaries: the 75th anniversaries of RAF Cosford and of the Spitfire entering RAF service, and 40 years of RAF service from the Jaguar jet aircraft.

As well as Royal Air Force aircraft, you can enjoy aerobatic displays, vintage planes, and expanded interactive displays, as well as visiting the museum (entry is included).

Cosford Air Show

£20 ADVANCE

0844 561 1807
www.cosfordairshow.co.uk

RE-ENACTMENT

£12 TICKET

LECTURE

Arnhem first-hand

The fierce struggle between the British 1st Airborne Division and the superior German forces in and around Arnhem is well documented. This story uses first-hand accounts by the men of the Glider Pilot Regiment to describe the role they played in the battle for Oosterbeek and the bridge at Arnhem.

Speaker Mike Peters is a serving Army Air Corps Officer with more than 30 years of military service and extensive operational experience.

Remembrance & the Great War

£12 ENTRY

01323 410 300
www.eastbournemuseums.co.uk

EVENT

Military number one

'Britain's Greatest Battles' examines the key events, impact, and legacies of the 20 top British battles chosen by NAM's curators. It reveals how tactics, luck, and innovation helped the British Army to victory.

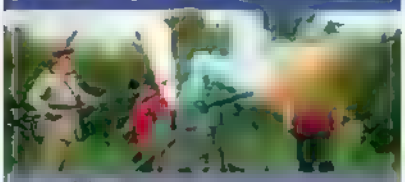
Original artefacts help tell the stories behind these battles, and illuminate the real-life experiences of soldiers on both sides. Visit the museum's website to vote on which of the shortlisted battles was the greatest test to Britain's military.

Britain's Greatest Battles

FREE ENTRY

020 7881 6606
www.nam.ac.uk

FAMILY EVENT



Civil War weekend

The event is part of a fund-raising initiative by the Naseby Battlefield Project to support the building of a new visitor centre. There promises to be something of interest for people of all ages: trebuchet- and cannon-firing, a rolling programme of talks and films, and re-enactments by the Sealed Knot, Vikings, and the Medieval Siege Society. The Naseby Battlefield Project patron, Earl Spencer, is visiting on the Sunday morning and will be given a Guard of Honour by Prince Rupert's Blew Regiment of Foote, part of the Sealed Knot, in recognition of the role played by his Royalist ancestors during the Civil War.

Naseby Battlefield Project Family Weekend
3 June

Naseby, NN6 6DF

£10 PER CAR

01858 880 820
www.naseby.com

LECTURE

Escaping Holzminden

Holzminden was the most heavily guarded PoW camp in the world. It was a brutal punishment camp, housing 700 prisoners of all nationalities. To escape would have taken boundless ingenuity and nerves of steel.

Many tried. Every attempt failed, leading only to ever-tighter defences. But on the night of 23 July 1918, 29 undaunted Allied prisoners achieved the impossible. They had spent nine months digging a tunnel over 150 feet long through the foundations of the barracks and under the walls and barbed-wire fences, to the farmland beyond. In this talk, historian Neil Hanson explains how they did it.

The First Great Escape

£3 ENTRY

01926 492 759
www.westernfrontassociation.com

DISPLAY WEEKEND

VEHICLES ON PARADE

This is your chance to see many of the Collection's tanks and vehicles on the move, and an opportunity to drive a tracked vehicle if pre-booked via the website. There will be displays by other military-vehicle owners, including the RAF and Army, as well as rides around the old Weybourne anti-aircraft camp to see the remaining gun pits and bunkers. Shops and stalls will sell military items, alongside plenty of catering facilities. Set in beautiful surroundings with lovely seaviews, Weybourne will host a weekend of excitement for all members of the family.

£9 PER DAY

EXHIBITION

War brides

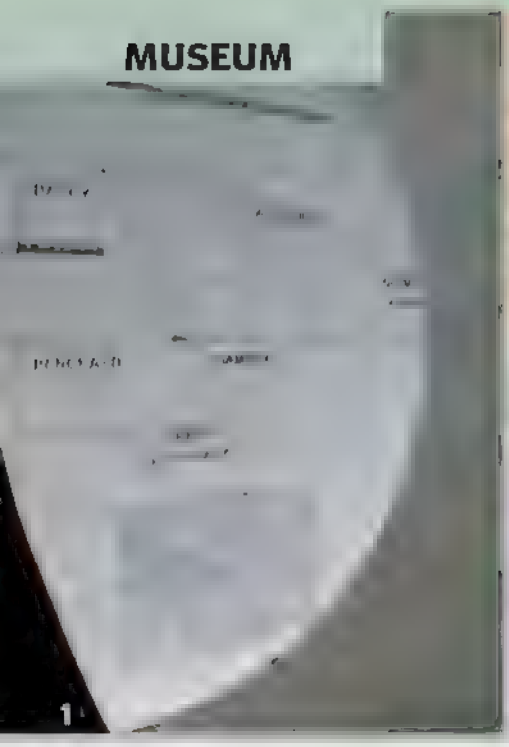
A new exhibition opens this June at the National Liberation Museum in the Netherlands. On show from an exceptional Canadian museum collection, and never before exhibited in the Netherlands, 'Canadian War Brides' tells the story of the Dutch war brides in Canada, about whom very little is known. The exhibition will shed light on these women, who followed their loves overseas during WWII. Beautiful paintings by Beverly Tosh (herself daughter of a war bride) join original wedding dresses, documents, photos, films, and war-time objects to reveal this moving story.

Canadian War Brides: a one-way passage to love
6 June-17 November 2013

The National Liberation Museum 1944-1945
Wyerbaan 4, 6561 KR Groesbeek
The Netherlands

€10.50 ENTRY

+31 24 397 4404
www.bevrijdingsmuseum.nl



La Musée de la Grande Guerre, Meaux

[redacted] reports from an architecturally fascinating French WWI museum.

North of Meaux, on the heights above the town, a great slab of glass and concrete has recently appeared. This is France's Museum of the Great War

Cantilevered out of the hillside, it provides a covered area for community events and sculptural displays. Its paved area is constructed to act as a topographic map of the Marne battle area. Accessing the museum underneath this architectural overhang, one approaches a glass-wreathed entrance hall that houses the café, and lifts and ramp to the main exhibition spaces

The ramp affords a good view of the Marne Battle Monument which sits above the museum looking down on Meaux. This 22m-high sculpture was a present from America to France in recognition of its soldiers' bravery at the First Battle of the Marne in 1914

The monument was designed by American sculptor Frederick MacMonnies (1863-1937), and carved by Edmondo Quattrocchi from 220 blocks of Lorraine-sourced limestone. Opened by the American Ambassador to France, Evans Edge, in September 1928, it was heavily restored in time for the opening of the Musée de la Grande Guerre.

At the top of the ramp lie the main ticket area and bookshop, a temporary exhibition hall, and the entrance to the museum itself. There is a cinematic space which provides a film introduction to the Great War. An introductory gallery places the origins of the war in France's failure during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), and its loss of Alsace-Lorraine

That is a woefully inadequate account of the causes of WWI! However, this Franco-centric view does allow you to see a splendid collection of period uniforms. There is also a range of supporting military objects, large mural-sized photos, and collages of contemporary posters

Main exhibition

This brings us to the main exhibition spaces, which consist of the central gallery, or 'Great Nave', and a series of thematically organised side-galleries. The side galleries explore Great War experiences that are not always on show in museum displays of the period

As you would expect there are displays of *matériel* showing a variety of military equipment. Among them is an artistically arranged case of hand-grenades, resembling a case of specimens from a museum of natural history. But the museum goes further than the strictly military, with exhibitions exploring the role of women in the war, not only as mothers and wives on the Home Front, but as workers in munitions factories, as farmworkers, and as auxiliary personnel.

There is a section devoted to the development of medicine. Issues surrounding the role of colonial forces are explored, and spreads of everyday objects – cigarette packets, shaving gear, camera equipment, food packaging – are given an added poignancy when viewed in the context of the trenches There are also displays of advertising

1. Aerial view of topographic pavement
2. Machine gun
3. Display of hand-grenades
4. Blériot XI-2
5. Turret of a Renault FT17 tank
6. Pilot's helmet
7. Latil artillery tractor with Schneider 105mm cannon

Below A Spad XIII biplane

material, including paintings, posters, and prints.

Land, air, and sea

Although the museum primarily focuses on land-warfare, these side-galleries also explore the battles in the air and at sea. The naval material contains several large-scale models of various vessels, as well as uniforms and small pieces of kit. There are two full-sized planes in the Great Nave, and there you will also find an example of a wickerwork basket for an observation balloon, and WWI headgear.

The Great Nave is most certainly the *pièce de résistance*, a lofty and lengthy space where numerous large pieces of military hardware can be shown in all their glory. But it is not just a display of objects. It has a didactic objective behind its design.

Focusing on 1914 and 1918, it compares the shift from the military equipment used at the beginning of the war to that used at the end, when industrialised warfare was fully in its stride. The display focuses on the stalemate of trench warfare, with life-size reconstructions of a French zone and its equipment, and a similar reconstruction of a German trench. The two opposing systems are appropriately separated by the detritus of a recreated 'no-man's-land'.

One can compare a Blériot XI-2 with a Spad XIII, although both are suspended from the ceiling 'mid-flight', so close-up inspection is not possible. There are, however, many pieces of equipment you can get a closer look at: a Renault taxi that ferried troops from Paris to the Front during the First Battle of the Marne, and a fascinating example of a *pigeonnier* – a double-decker bus transformed into a mobile dovecote for transporting carrier pigeons – to name just two.

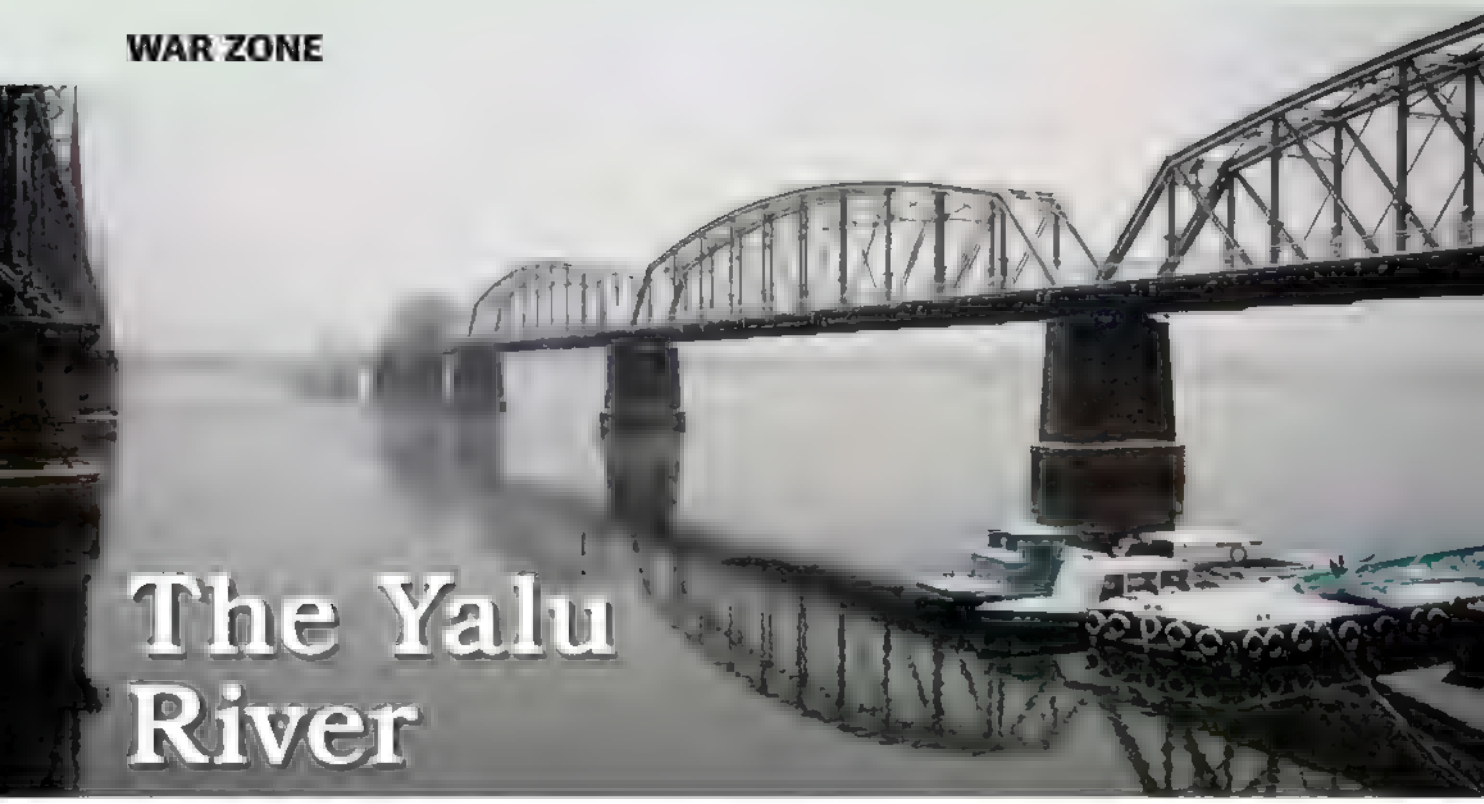
A Latil TAR artillery tractor is shown pulling a 1913 Schneider, a 105mm artillery piece. There is also a 6.5 tonne Char Renault FT17 tank, which had a range of just 35km. This tank was the first to have its armament in a fully 360° rotating turret; some 3,200 of them were produced before the Armistice.

The jewels of the collection are the more than 200 full uniforms from the combatant nations, many of which are on display throughout the exhibitions.

Although the displays are perhaps a little too artfully displayed for their own good at times, and despite the colourful lighting sometimes obscuring rather than revealing, this is a fantastic collection. The museum holds over 30,000 items, most of which can be seen in its 3,000m² of permanent exhibition space. The museum is also child-friendly, with special activities and interactive displays. Definitely worth a visit.

La Musée de la Grande Guerre is on rue Lazare Ponticelli, 77100 Meaux. It opens all week from 10.30am to 5.30pm, but is closed on Tuesdays.

+33 1 60 32 14 18
www.museedelagrandeguerre.eu



The Yalu River

Tom Farrell visits the border city of Dandong in China, and reports on the remaining evidence of the Korean War.

The young man's bust sits illuminated in front of a bas relief of charging, yelling soldiers. It is easy to miss in a museum with the rather unwieldy title of Museum to Commemorate the War to Resist American Aggression and Aid Korea. Just outside the museum's entrance, a cenotaph on a hill rises 53 metres high, representing the year 1953.

Visitors can circumnavigate the base, and look out across the tower blocks and traffic-clogged streets of Dandong, an industrial city in China's Liaoning Province. A short distance beyond is the grey loop of a river known as the Yalu to the Chinese, and the Amnok to the Koreans. Beyond are the hills and scrubland of North Korea.

The seven characters on the cenotaph bear tribute to the three million soldiers of the People's Volunteer Army (PVA) who fought in Korea. Sixty years ago this July, the guns fell silent on the far side of the river. Chinese historians now admit that 400,000 PVA troops were by then dead. The young man represented in stone inside the museum would be an invisible statistic were he not the eldest son of the man who had sent them to their deaths.

Mao Anying was just 28 when he died, killed in a napalm strike on a farmhouse in the snowy wastes of North Korea on 25 November 1950. A border war had been burning away in China's neighbour country since the summer of 1948. Two years later, the armies of North Korea's Kim Il-sung stormed into the South. By late 1950, they were being rolled back by a US-led United Nations taskforce under the command of General Douglas MacArthur.

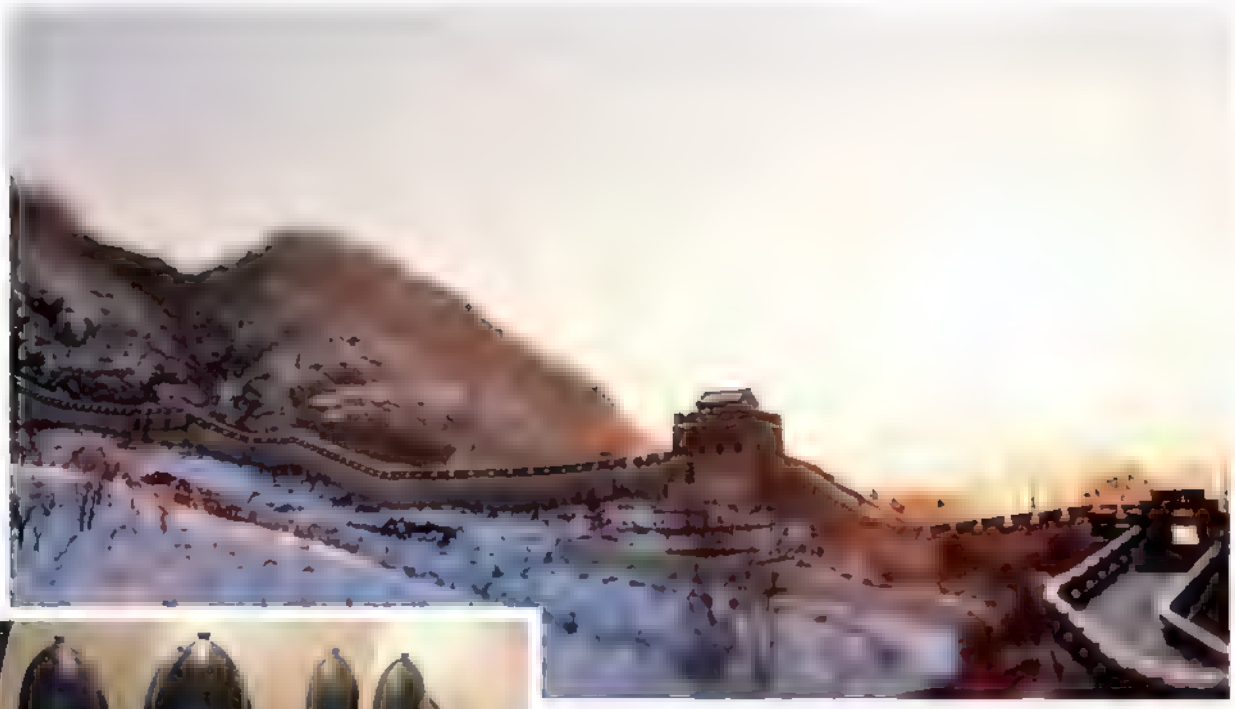
As MacArthur's 250,000-strong force bore down on the Yalu, Mao volunteered for PVA service in Korea. Military leaders, not least Marshal Peng Dehuai, tasked with leading the PVA across the Yalu, were justifiably worried about the consequences they might face should Mao junior not return. When they attempted to dissuade China's supreme leader from letting the young man go, he overruled them, saying, 'He is, after all, the son of Mao Zedong.'

Above The Sino-Korean Friendship Bridge, alongside the broken bridge, overlooking North Korea.

Lips and teeth

The museum leaves the visitor in little doubt about the savagery of the conflict into which Mao's son was cast. Shells and the casing of incendiary explosives are lined up near captured UN weaponry and vehicles. By the 'end' of the Korean

Below The cenotaph in Dandong, north-east China, commemorates the Chinese dead from 1950-1953.



Above The Hushan Tiger Mountain Great Wall is a reminder of ancient Sino-Korean conflicts. **Inset** US bombs dropped on North Korea, as displayed in Dandong.

War, at least three million civilians were dead. Korea was pummelled by the US Air Force, and almost all of its industrial plant and 70% of its housing stock had been obliterated.

On 24 November Chairman Mao's son was cooking a meal with another soldier some distance away from Marshal Peng's headquarters, in violation of PVA regulations, when two American P-61 Black Widow planes were spotted on a photo-reconnaissance mission in the icy skies, a clear indication that a bombing run was imminent. Mao Anying had been assigned as a Russian translator (the Soviets were providing Kim Il-sung with weapons and advisors) at Peng's headquarters. Located in caves near an old gold-mine, they survived the next day's attack.

Today a large sculpture of Mao senior and Peng dominates the entrance hall of the Dandong museum. But the fellowship did not last long. Peng was among many senior Chinese communists imprisoned, tortured, and publically humiliated in the 1960s. He had already been unwise enough to question his boss's unshakeable belief that China's backward economy could be rapidly and radically overhauled. The effort, so-ironically named 'The Great Leap Forward', unleashed a horrific famine in 1958-1961. Liaoning Province witnessed terrible starvation.

But in the centre of today's Dandong it is almost impossible to picture the crop-less fields and skeletal peasants of over half a century ago. The city has a population of around two million, yet is not in the same league as such industrial powerhouses as Shanghai or Guangzhou. Down at the river-front there are franchised coffee outlets, and, on the buildings ranged around the railway station, digital billboards flicker up images of cosmetics, soft drinks, and luxury cars.

Chairman Mao's corpulent face, with its wart and receding hairline, still adorns the *renminbi*, China's national currency. Beyond the flourishes of Communist Party rhetoric and statues, such as the one looming over the station entrance, it is one of the few remaining examples of Maoism.

But if any locals under 40 years old are curious about their elders' whispered recollections, they simply have to travel the 940 metres across the Yalu's Sino-Korean Friendship Bridge. On the opposite bank are the smoke stacks and rooftops of the North Korean city of Sinuiju.

On the Chinese side of the river is Hushan (Tiger Mountain), so-called because its two highest peaks resemble the ears of a tiger. The easternmost expanse of the Great Wall rises and falls just outside Dandong. In the 17th century, the Manchu Dynasty clashed with the Chosŏn, forebears of modern Korea. The wall is a reminder of the complex nature of the countries' relationship, despite their claims to be 'as close as lips and teeth'.

As much to PVA troops like Mao Anying as to his young UN opponent from Pennsylvania or Glasgow, Korea must have seemed to represent the unlimited clash of Western technology and Asian manpower. In fact, the atomic blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki five years previous had ushered in a new and ongoing era of 'limited' wars where, for the West at least, military strategy would be constrained by domestic pressures and the risk of escalation into a global nuclear war.

In the winter of 1950-1951, this was something that General MacArthur failed to grasp. Ultimately, and perhaps fortunately, this led to his dismissal by President Harry Truman. If events ▷

had played out differently during those freezing months, the Yalu River hinterland might now be a radioactive wasteland.

March to the Yalu

China and North Korea share a 1,400km border with six crossings, the most important being the Friendship Bridge. But running alongside it for about 60 metres are the four remaining spans of another bridge. Beyond the rail marking the periphery, three of its stone piers rise from the water.

The Chinese first deployed MiG fighters in the skies over Sinuiju on 8 November 1950. Around the same time both bridges were bombed into smouldering shards by USAF B-29, B-17, and F-80 fighter bombers.

MacArthur, however, wanted total war with China. He later confided to interviewers, 'I would have dropped between 30 and 50 atomic bombs... a belt of radioactive cobalt. It has an active life of between 60 and 120 years. For at least 60 years there could have been no land invasion of Korea from the North.'

He had also favoured restoring the corrupt and incompetent Kuomintang regime in China.

The expulsion of Kim's Korean Peoples' Army (KPA) from South Korea had cost 6,000 US lives at that point. On 29 September MacArthur had presided over a ceremony in which the bomb-blasted city of Seoul was turned over to South Korea's President, Syngman Rhee.

The UN taskforce divided into two commands as it pushed north towards China. On 30 September, with South Korean units in the lead, the Army and Marine X Corps under General Edward Almond crawled along the eastern reach of North Korea. On 8 October, the Eighth Army under General Walton 'Bulldog' Walker entered the western sector. Three weeks later the Chinese struck. They had been hiding in canyons and valleys.

Their attacks were often carried out at night, announced by a terrifying cacophony of sounds: gunfire, shouts, and wailing bugles. UN firepower would cut down thousands of Chinese; thousands more would rush forth in human waves.

The Chinese had reason enough to feel unnerved themselves. As early as 24 October, MacArthur rejected the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff that only South Korean troops approach the Yalu, ordering Almond and Walker's men forward. On 5 November, he overrode the directive prohibiting bombing missions within five miles of the river and had its bridges destroyed.

Between 28 November and 4 December, MacArthur gave a series of press interviews, protesting at the order not to strike across the border. President Truman put out a gagging order, but the following March he gave another interview to the Associated Press in which he contradicted the Secretary of State by claiming that only a unified Korea would fulfil the UN mandate.

That same month he sabotaged a major US-UN peace initiative by pre-empting it with a bellicose ultimatum to China to surrender. All of which had terrible consequences for the men under his command. On entering the war, the PVA battered South Korean units and pushed back the Eighth Army. By mid-December, Walker's men had trudged through the snow for 120 miles, halting below the 38th parallel that divided the Koreas.

In the east, the PVA swarmed all night in hand-to-hand combat with the 7th Marines, but when the Americans called on air and artillery support, the Chinese mysteriously vanished. General Almond, who dismissed the PVA as 'a bunch of laundrymen', pushed forward. But the X Corps became scattered across the mountains of North Korea's central spine, eventually becoming cut off and encircled. Savage fighting accompanied the break-out of the 10,000 men of the 5th and 7th Marines from Yudam-ni to Hagaru. A column of 1,500 vehicles steamed through the icy mountain passes until, two weeks later, they reached the embarkation port of Hungnam.

In the months that followed, the UN forces fell back, and Seoul passed in and out of Communist control once more. By mid-1951, a two-year war of attrition had commenced along roughly the pre-war border. It ended with the signing of an armistice, but not a formal peace agreement. Western armies never again came so close to the river.

Above An idealised mural of the Great Leader with his wife Kim Jong-suk, mother of Kim Jong-Il.

Sacred mountain

Travelling further north-east along the border, the volcanic Mount Paekdu rises 2,750 metres. This mountain is particularly sacred to the Koreans. Tan-gun, the mythical progenitor of the Korean race, was said to have been born there five millennia ago. More recently, North Korea has claimed the pine-forested slopes of Mount Paekdu as the birthplace of its 'Dear Leader', Kim Jong-il, who ruled between 1994 and 2011.

Another river, the Tumen, rises on Mount Paekdu and flows for 521km into the East Sea. In the late 1990s, famine broke out in North Korea, caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union. This meant the end of cheap oil and subsidised imports. Then, in 1995, the country was devastated by floods that washed away most agricultural topsoil. The economy atrophied, and hundreds of thousands of people starved to death.

Tens of thousands more fled into China. The prospect that millions might one day haemorrhage over the border is a source of great concern in Beijing. North Korea's latest ruler, 29-year-old Kim Jong-un, sits at the apex of a power pyramid. Immediately beneath him are the elderly and privileged generals who run the 1.2-million-strong KPA. Their support is vital, and may explain the belligerent militarism of a regime that detonated underground nuclear devices in 2006, 2009, and 2013. A coup or internal power struggle could have calamitous consequences in the region.

China knows this. North Koreans still cross the Tumen in winter (the Yalu is too deep and broad) when its waters are shallow or frozen over. Usually 'fixers' who have already made it to China's Jilin province will assist them. Knowing they will be sent back if apprehended by the Chinese authorities, most North Korean defectors live as fugitives and are often exploited. In the last ten years, the Chinese have passed border patrol duties from the police to the Army.

This is supremely ironic. During the Great Leap Forward, thousands of ethnic Koreans escaped from famine-wracked China into North Korea. South of the Yalu, under the guidance of its smiling and bespectacled Great Leader, a viable economy seemed to have risen out of the utter ruination of the 1950-1953 war. Visitors to North Korea saw well tended co-operative farms, factories, schools, and clinics. As early as 1949, the regime claimed to have eliminated illiteracy, and by 1970 every village had been wired for electricity.

Above Anti-US poster, produced in North Korea.

The United States placed tactical nuclear missiles in South Korea between 1958 and 1991, and still maintains nearly 30,000 troops there to this day. Kim Il-sung knew his country's front-line geographical position in the Cold War could be used to considerable advantage. Despite the triumphal go-it-alone rhetoric of *Juche*, North Korea was highly dependent on Chinese and Soviet aid. And by the 1960s, when the Yalu and Tumen rivers bordered both sides of the Sino-Soviet schism, he was able to play both giants off against each other.

But Kim was shocked by Nikita Khrushchev's speech in February 1956 denouncing Stalin. A decade later, when Mao launched the Cultural Revolution to enforce communist orthodoxy, he was positively unnerved. Images of the swarms of youthful Red Guards in Beijing's Tiananmen Square might have inspired pro-Maoist sentiments within his own party. In the decade after the Korean War, its pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet factions were mercilessly purged.

Sino-North Korean relations soured in the later 1960s to the extent that, at one point, all border crossings were closed. China demanded that North Korea cede 160 square miles of territory around Mount Paekdu as payback for the PVA's support in the war against the United States. Far from being 'as close as lips and teeth', China and North Korea's military clashed several times on the border between 1968 and 1970, when China abandoned its claim. Thereafter, a *rapprochement* took place, but Kim continued to waver between Moscow and Beijing for the rest of the Cold War.

New generation

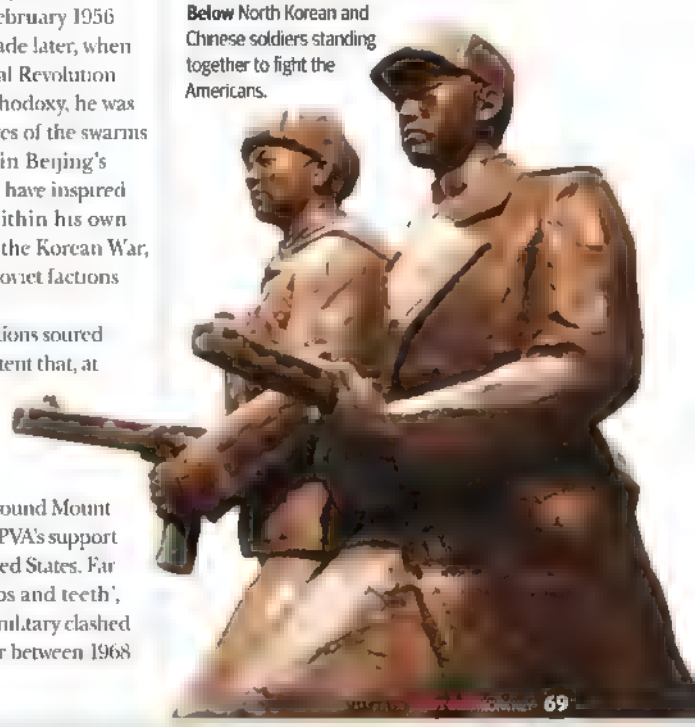
Mao Anying never returned to China. He lies in a PVA cemetery around 100km east of Pyongyang. It was left to China's Foreign Minister Chou En-Lai to inform Mao senior of his son's death. Mao's secretary later recalled how the future mastermind of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution 'really didn't show any expression of great pain'. Mao Anying's young widow was not informed for another two and a half years.

As for the generals whose armies clashed near the Yalu, Douglas MacArthur was formally dismissed by Truman on 12 April 1951. Although welcomed home by millions of Americans, and cheered after he addressed a Joint Session of Congress, a Congressional inquiry later discredited his Korea strategy. Marshal Peng Dehuai became a victim to the Cultural Revolution, dying in jail in 1974.

In October 2009, the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao visited the North Korean cemetery and laid a wreath. The friendship is nominally intact.

But a new generation has taken power in China's Communist Party, and North Korea remains as belligerent and unpredictable as ever. China's leaders must surely wonder about rethinking their relationship with the land south of the Yalu.

Below North Korean and Chinese soldiers standing together to fight the Americans.



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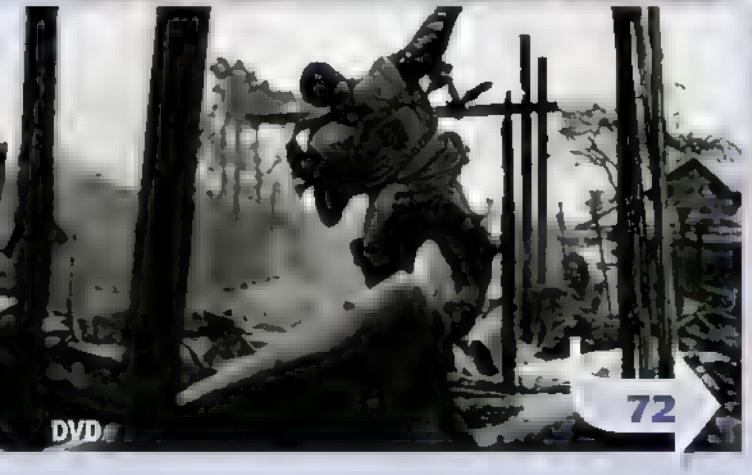
JUNE 2013

MHM Reviews

June How close did France come to collapsing into civil war in 1954? Martin Evans' account of the 1954-1962 Algerian War is examined by Jules Stewart for our lead review this month. It is not cyber-attacks and nuclear weapons that win wars, argues Leo Murray in *Brains and Bullets*, but military psychology. His book is reviewed by Jonathan Eaton. Meanwhile, David Flintham discovers a wealth of information on the long military history of the county of Essex in Mike Osborne's latest work, *Defending Essex: the military landscape from prehistory to the present*.

For the DVD review in this issue of *MHM*, Maria Earle reports on a powerful new documentary that details the life and work of photographer Don McCullin. The film provides a rare opportunity to hear McCullin in interview, to get inside the mind of the world-famous war photographer, and to see some of his best-known images once again.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FILM

McCULLIN

ARTICIAL EYE
25 FEBRUARY 2013
£9.99

BAFTA-nommated documentary *McCullin*, by Jacqui and David Morris, details the work of renowned photographer Don McCullin. This quiet but compelling film is reflection on a life lived, in the main as a war reporter. The story of McCullin's work is sewn together with interviews, archive film footage, and, in the starring role, his own still photographs.

A boy from the rough side of the tracks, McCullin could not wait to get away from the violence of his early life. His big break came when his photograph of a Finsbury Park gang, 'The Guv'nors', was published in the *Observer* and won him a contract with the paper. Ironically, once his career took off, he spent the next 40 or so years covering some of the bloodiest conflicts of recent history: in Cyprus and the Congo, Vietnam, Biafra, Cambodia, Northern Ireland, and the Lebanon.

Working for the *Observer*, then *The Sunday Times*, he became a self-confessed 'war junkie' on 'one war a year then two maybe three'. Posing as a mercenary to get to the fighting, he dug in with the troops during the siege of Hue when all the other press photographers had left.

In an extended interview from his tranquil home in Somerset, where he now photographs the landscape, Don McCullin transports us back to some of these bloody arenas, the theatres of his life's work. In deep, measured tones he describes the circumstances and atmosphere of the many terrifying situations he has recorded while we study the photographs: a family's discovery of the body of their father in a hallway during the civil war in Cyprus, the brutality of the Stanleyville massacre in the Congo, the wounded US soldier at Hue resembling a Christ-figure from a deposition.

Some horrifying contemporary film footage cuts in to show the context of these events. Beyond conveying the details of the painful and terrifying situations he has recorded, McCullin examines the purpose and, ultimately, the justification for his work again and again.

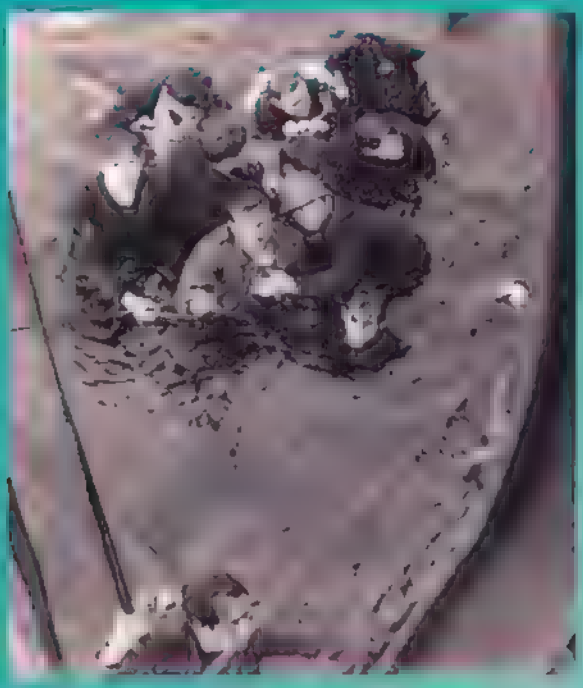
Making these things known is the reporter's job. Many have asked McCullin whether he ever acted to help those who found themselves caught up in the appalling events he witnessed. 'Of course I did, but I'm not going to talk about it' is the usual response. His job was to report and record. And he records with an acute sensibility the effects of war on human beings. It is McCullin's feeling for the victims and the sense of what he repeatedly calls 'the insanity' that is shown in his pictures.

His photograph of a US marine throwing a grenade could be seen as an encapsulation of heroism during the war. McCullin, however, reproaches himself for immortalising this act of violence, rather than its physical and emotional consequences. Harold Evans, his editor for many years, who talks at length in the film, calls him 'a conscience with a camera'.

McCullin says his nightmares only occur in the daytime. He has seen the horror, and we are fortunate to have seen it filtered through his worthy perception. This film shows us the high price of bearing witness.

Maria Earle

Battle of Dunkirk and Operation Dynamo museum



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BOOKS

ALGERIA: FRANCE'S UNDECLARED WAR

Martin Evans
Oxford University Press, £14.99
ISBN 978-0199669035

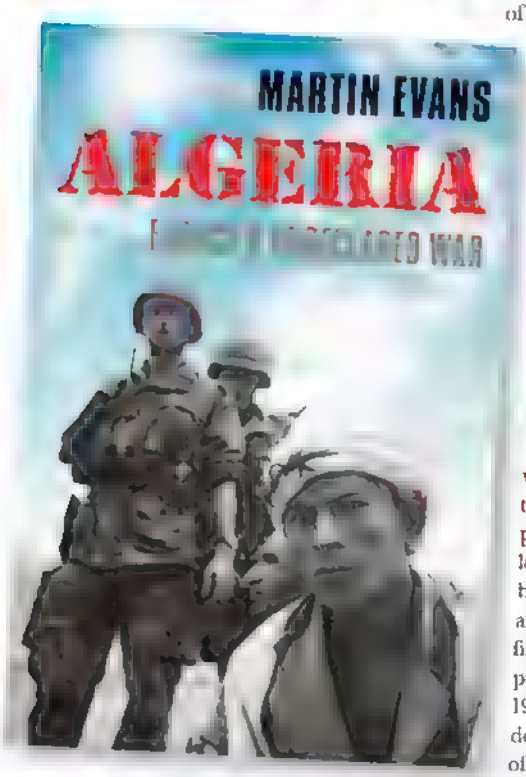
The subtitle of Martin Evans' masterly account of the Algerian War tells us a lot about contemporary French society: *France's Undeclared War*. More than half a century has passed since the end of a conflict that took France to the brink of civil war, and it can be argued that the country remains divided.

The result of last year's presidential election – in which the far-right National Front (whose founder Jean-Marie Le Pen is accused of having engaged in torture in Algeria) won nearly 20% of the vote – was a shocking reminder of the deep undercurrent of social malaise that, if anything, has intensified over the decades.

Muslim immigrants still struggle for recognition as *bona fide* French. In its most extreme guise, foreigner phobia is typified by a political figure with whom I had the dubious privilege of sharing an office as a Spanish government translator in the early 1970s. Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, who had served as the Vichy government's Commissioner for Jewish Affairs, once told me, 'I have no objection to Algerians living in France. But like Jews and other foreigners, they should be issued the appropriate documentation.'

With French troops now once again combating Islamist insurgents in the North African desert, how appropriate the adage *plus ça change*. Moreover, it was only a few years ago that mostly Muslim youths were hurling firebombs at the Gendarmerie in the suburbs of Paris and other cities – a reminder of the pitched battles that took place on the Left Bank and elsewhere as the Algerian War was winding down in 1962.

Evans' story starts on a morning in June 1830. 'The largest expedition since the Napoleonic campaigns' is occupying a panic-stricken Algiers because of a dispute over an affront to the French consul, who refused a demand for repayment of loans made to the French during the Napoleonic Wars. Arrogance of this sort towards foreigners, however, was not the exclusive domain of 19th-century France. It was around that time that foreign secretary Lord Palmerston dispatched a squadron of Royal Navy gunboats to bombard the port of Athens when the Portuguese Don Pacifico, the Gibraltar-born British consul, had his home attacked by an anti-Semitic mob.



In 1881, 'Algeria was officially declared an integral part of France, to the joy of the French settlers'. In the same voice one must add, 'In Algeria, republican structures were applied with one aim in mind: to exclude the Muslim majority from political power.' This toxic apartheid led to growing tensions and enmity between the settlers and Muslim activists. A full-scale insurgency finally erupted in the 1950s, and this produced its inevitable backlash: the 1961 formation of the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS). 'In terms of strategy, the OAS based itself on the Front National de Libération (FNL), seeing its own use of terrorism as the way to victory.'

This toxic apartheid led to growing enmity between the settlers and Muslim activists, and a full-scale insurgency erupted in the 1950s.

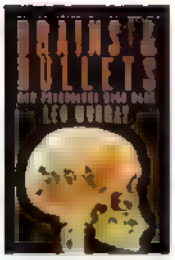
This undeclared war reached its most perilous point at midnight on 21 April 1961, when French paratroopers 'seized control of central Algiers, arresting de Gaulle's key representatives'. The next day a demoralised and politicised French army was cheered by Europeans in the streets of Algiers. De Gaulle declared a state of emergency, blocked Le Bourget airport's runway with lorries, and stopped public transport. A call went out for citizens to oppose an expected landing by the army mutineers. De Gaulle then pulled off a successful radio coup of his own by persuading army conscripts in Algeria to remain in barracks. France had avoided civil war but it was a close-run thing.

On 19 March 1962, 'the ceasefire between the French army and the FLN came into effect'. It ended eight years of war with upwards of 220,000 dead. It was not, however, so neat a finale. The OAS continued to carry out terrorist attacks on Algerian as well as French military targets, while the army itself remained engaged in battles and mopping-up operations, with Algiers under siege. The war, as Evans points out, was ultimately won by the FLN, and the conflict 'stands as a pivotal episode in the break-up of empires' – to the pain of France and, one might add, Algeria.

Jules Stewart

Brains & Bullets: how psychology wins wars

Leo Murray
Biteback Publishing, £20
ISBN 978-1849545167



Forget about predator drones, cyber-attacks, and nuclear weapons. The best way to understand the psychology of warfare consists of studying the individual soldier and the choices he or she makes during combat. This book, published under a pseudonym by an experienced military analyst, seeks to communicate the complexity of tactical psychology to the general public.

Murray argues that military psychology has recently been limited to studying morale, rather than encompassing the broad scope of factors that influence the decision of soldiers to fight. Knowledge of these factors may provide a crucial advantage in warfare.

Since the Second World War, tactical psychology has been heavily influenced by S L A Marshall's *Men Against Fire*, which found that no more than 25% of soldiers actively engaged in combat. Murray convincingly demonstrates that Marshall's study was flawed, as it was based on a limited number of case-studies. The behaviour of soldiers in battle is far more complex than Marshall supposed.

Psychologists have identified four basic responses to combat. For physiological reasons, some soldiers will freeze and be unable to respond physically or mentally. This response was noted among Argentine soldiers during the Falklands conflict. Where circumstances allow, soldiers may choose to flee from the scene of fighting. A previously overlooked phenomenon consists of soldiers 'fussing' during fighting. This response consists of individuals concentrating on repetitive manual tasks, such as cleaning a weapon, rather than shooting at the enemy. Success in battle rests with the proportion of soldiers who choose to fight rather than display any of the other responses.

Convincing the enemy to freeze, flee, or fuss rather than fight should determine the outcome of an engagement. As Murray notes, individuals may respond in different ways depending on the exact circumstances they face. In order to understand these responses, a range of different factors are examined in depth, including the influence of artillery fire, leadership, cohesion, and flanking manoeuvres. Cohesion is often associated with the emotional bonds between comrades, which prevent them from deserting each other. Yet, as Murray argues, it also can be understood through how soldiers view their relationships with their officers.

Murray concludes by examining the current conflict in Afghanistan from the perspective of tactical psychology. His evaluation is bleak. The heavy loads that troops are expected to carry on the modern battlefield may have a detrimental impact on their psychological performance during combat. Language barriers between coalition forces and the insurgents prevent psychological factors from being fully exploited. For obvious reasons it is difficult to convince an enemy to surrender or desert their post if you do not share a common language.

As an introduction to recent developments in the field of tactical psychology, this book should be welcomed. It is informed by the analysis of a range of eye-witness combat accounts to provide psychological insights into the actions of individual combatants. Murray presents a thought-provoking argument for the importance of psychology on the battlefield in deciding the outcome of future conflicts.

Jonathan Eaton

Young Titan: the making of Winston Churchill

Michael Shelden
Simon & Schuster, £25
ISBN 978-1471113222

We think of Winston Churchill standing defiantly amid the ruins of London during the Blitz, or rousing the nation to arms through his oratory in the House of Commons. Yet the Churchill who rose to lead the nation through its darkest hour was a man who had already led a fascinating and fulfilled life.

Michael Shelden has produced a biography examining the period of Churchill's life often overlooked in other treatments of his career. Churchill's early adulthood saw him undertake military service and find employment as a correspondent during the Boer War, including a daring escape from imprisonment which earned him a national reputation as a daring man of action.

In the period that followed, between 1901 and 1915, he conscientiously built his political profile as a Member of Parliament, and served in the Cabinet. It is this era of Churchill's career which Shelden concentrates on. He argues that this was the period crucial in sculpting the future war leader, about whom an acquaintance remarked, 'The first time you meet Winston, you see all his faults, and the rest of your life you spend in discovering his virtues.'

Churchill had proved his courage during the Sudanese and Boer Wars. As Shelden notes, he carried a nasty scar from a hasty removal of flesh to save the life of a comrade after the Battle of Omdurman. Parliamentary politics offered little opportunity for physical combat, aside from defending himself from ardent suffragettes. Yet as Home Secretary, Churchill personally risked his life to offer advice to police officers besieging a pair of armed Russian anarchists. He never flinched from hostile public meetings, even when confronted by angry mobs. On leaving public office after the debâcle at Gallipoli, he chose to serve in the trenches of the Western Front rather than stay at home.

Churchill's gift for oratory aided his political career immensely during this period. From the floor of the House of Commons to the streets of Manchester, Birmingham, and Dundee, he inspired audiences through his mastery of the English language. Intellectually he was as fascinated by the affairs of the imperial colonies as he was by the plight of the poor in urban slums. His abiding interest in military affairs is reflected in his invitation to view a series of military exercises conducted by the German Army as a guest of the Kaiser.

For a military historian, this book is mainly of interest for the insight it provides into Churchill's psychological development, and the context in which he entered the political wilderness to re-emerge for his finest hour at the outbreak of the Second World War. The book concentrates on his parliamentary career and romantic escapades. It is nevertheless a fascinating read.

Jonathan Eaton

ON THE HORIZON

The Harrogate Army Apprentice: our story
Fred Carslake
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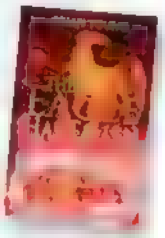

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Edited by Donald R Hickey
The Library of America, £26
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Early Trench Tactics in the French Army: the Second Battle of Artois, May-June 1915
Jonathan Krause
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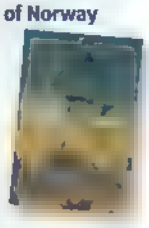

Hitler Strikes North: the Nazi invasion of Norway and Denmark, 9 April 1940
Jack Greene and Alessandro Massignani
Frontline, £25
ISBN 978-1848326613
A fascinating account of this key campaign and its aftermath, highly significant both for the course of WWII and the post-war history of these two countries.

Pakistan on the Brink

Ahmed Rashid
Allen Lane, £20
ISBN 978-0670023462

This is Ahmed Rashid's third insightful book on the wars in Afghanistan, and political developments in Pakistan and Central Asia. The author sets out to find a solution to some of the most pressing issues threatening global security: Afghanistan's survival, security in Pakistan, and the West's ability to leave behind relatively stable regimes in both countries when NATO combat forces depart Afghanistan.

This, Rashid argues, will require 'a multidimensional political, diplomatic, economic, and military strategy'. The question is whether the US and Europe have the will and the ability to implement such a strategy.

The current situation appears to offer little room for optimism. Osama bin Laden is dead, but his cause of global *jihad* has taken root in innumerable Muslim terrorist groups around the world. Pakistan's corrupt government displays no sense of civic responsibility, while the Inter Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) continues to exploit extremist groups to promote its foreign policy agendas in India and Afghanistan.

In Pakistan and Afghanistan, people are denied basic necessities: nearly half of Pakistan's population lacks reliable food sources. Rashid accurately defines the core issue in the region as the crisis in Pakistan, a country whose nuclear weapons, large population, and enfeebled economy and polity have nudged it to the brink of failed-state status. The combination of nuclear weapons, and rampant social and political fragility of the sort that has characterised Pakistan for decades, underpinned by an aggressive, power-hungry military, is a frightening scenario for disaster.

And the solution? 'Pakistan must act as a normal state, rather than a paranoid, insecure, ISI-driven entity whose operational norms are to use extremists and diplomatic blackmail.' Almost in the same breath, the author argues that Pakistan will need several elections before democracy becomes the acceptable mode of governance.

Jules Stewart

Defending Essex: the military landscape from prehistory to the present

Mike Osborne
The History Press Ltd, £18.99
ISBN 978-0752488349

Essex has been part of England's 'front-line' since before the Roman invasion. As a result, the history of its defences stretches back as far as the Bronze Age. The fascinating story is told here by Mike Osborne in the latest in his series telling the county-by-county account of the defence of Britain.

Starting with prehistoric forts, Essex's defences are discussed chronologically. The Roman defences of Colchester and then the Saxon shore forts are followed by the early and later Medieval periods, then the Tudors, the 17th and 18th centuries, the Napoleonic Wars, the Victorian period, and finally the 20th century.

However, Osborne does show something of a modern bias: half of *Defending Essex* is about the 20th century. But any disappointment is made up for by what is a thrilling description of the defence of Essex during the World Wars and the Cold War, and it is here that the author is at his best. I was intrigued to learn about the armoured trains that operated in Essex during WWII, and the story of the Thames Estuary forts certainly whets the appetite.

Even as late as 1992, towards the end of a period of what the author describes as 'inexplicable paranoia', Cold War bunkers were still being built (at Thundersley, while just a few miles down the road was nuclear-free Basildon, whose emergency control centre was contained in two Portacabins protected by rubbish skips).

The book contains a wealth of details, and those 'snippets' of information that make books like this so valuable. His telling of the story of Colchester Castle is succinct. He identifies the sites of some 25 Norman earthwork castles in Essex, and just seven stone ones, making the point that this is due to the lack of local stone in the county. Obvious when you think about it, but still a point worth making.

Very well illustrated in terms of features visible today, *Defending Essex* is an excellent book and one that I will refer to time and again.

David Flintham

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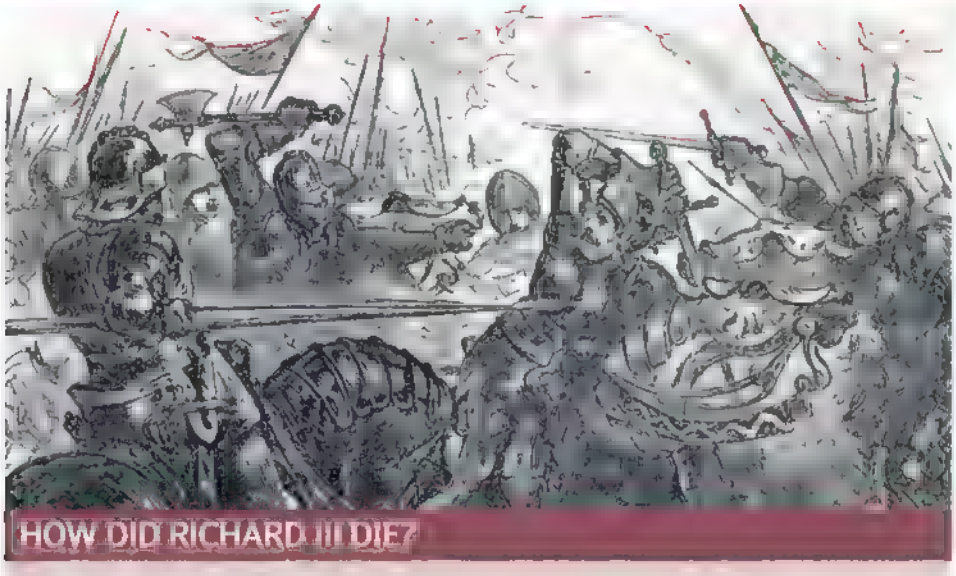
COMING SOON IN MILITARY HISTORY MONTHLY



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IMPHAL, 1944

How Bill Slim's 'forgotten army' learned to beat the Japanese in jungle warfare

Julian Brazier continues his mini-series on America's greatest battle with a detailed analysis of the first day.

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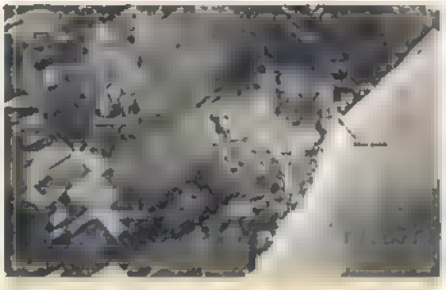
Gunpower

The first of two articles by weapons specialist **David Porter** explores the evolution of naval gunnery from 1500 to 1815.



The Bruneval Raid, 1942

It was the first victorious British Paratrooper operation of World War II. With a new book out, **Taylor Downing** tells the story for *MHM*.

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THE NEXT ISSUE IS ON SALE 13 JUNE 2013

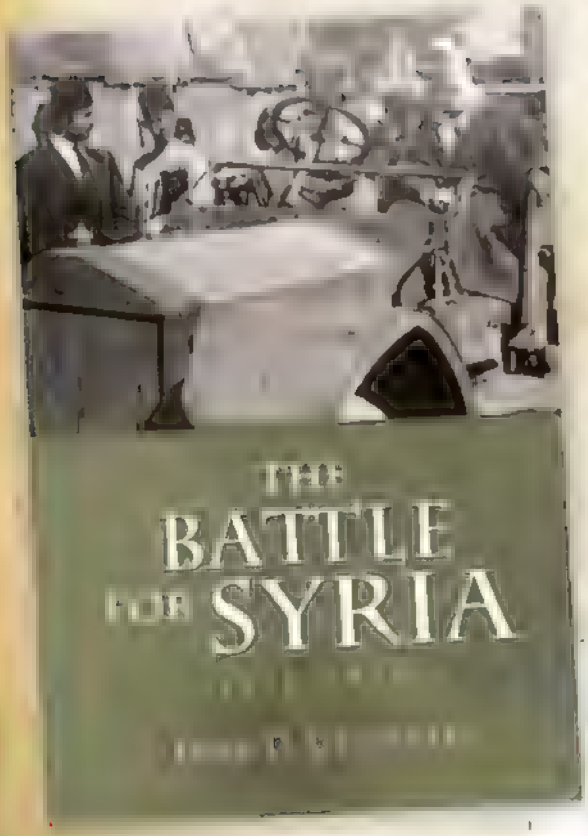
COMPETITION

MILITARY HISTORY MONTHLY

This month we have

3 COPIES OF *The Battle for Syria, 1918-1920*

to be won!



Following the capture of Jerusalem, the Allied armies continued their campaign against the Turks, beating them at the great Battle of Megiddo and capturing Damascus with two forces simultaneously: the Australians, and T E Lawrence's Arab insurgents. The French arrived late but, thanks to the secret – and now infamous – Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1915, were entitled to take over both Syria and Lebanon. The book covers all this in detail, as well as explaining how influenza weakened the next Allied advance, and how the Turks regrouped north of Aleppo to stop the Allies in their tracks.

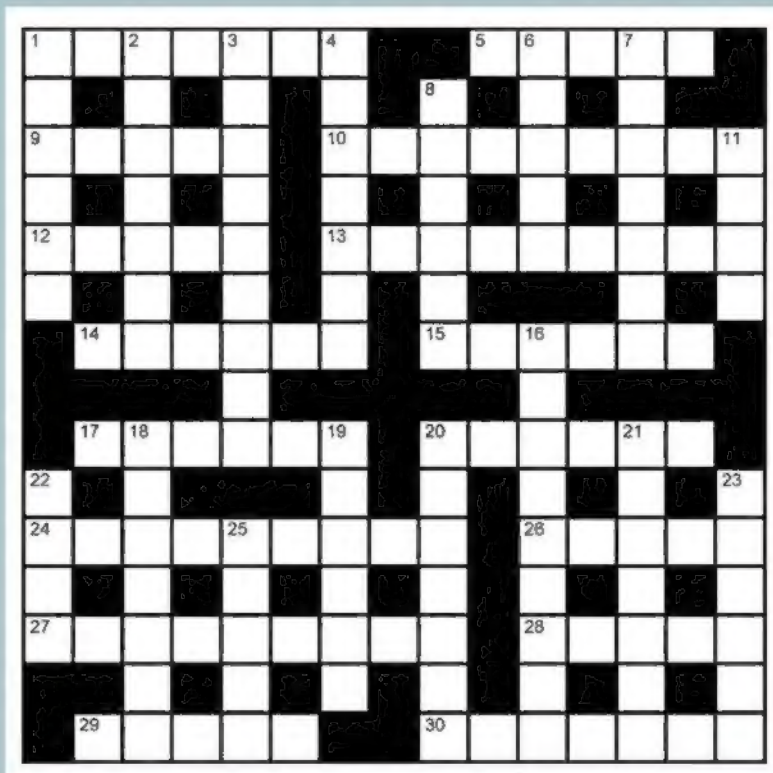
Also covered are the subsequent peace negotiations, in which nationalist aspirations were thwarted; the French imperial grip on Syria was strengthened; and the Arab leader, Faisal, ousted from Syria, was provided with a kingdom by the British in Iraq.

At a time when new turmoil has brought Syria again to the headlines, this study provides exceptionally timely information on how Syria was fought over and shaped, as rule over the country by the Turkish Empire was brought to an end.

To be in with a chance of winning this hardback book worth **£25**, just visit ***www.military-history.org*** and answer the following questions:

1. What was T E Lawrence's first name?
2. In what month and year was the Battle of Megiddo?
3. In which year was Faisal I of Iraq born?

TO ENTER THE QUIZ go to *www.military-history.org*



MHM CROSSWORD

Test your military history knowledge in our regular crossword.
The answers will be revealed in next month's issue of *MHM*.

ACROSS

1 Light cavalry, originally from Hungary (7)
5 Epic poem by Homer set during the Trojan War (5)
9 Asian city entered in August 1904 by British troops led by Edward Younghusband (5)
10 Earl of ___, commander of an expeditionary force to the Netherlands in 1585 (9)
12 Duke of ___, François de Lorraine, French general killed by a Huguenot assassin in 1563 (5)
13 *The* ___, film (1977) based on a Joseph Conrad story, depicting the enmity between two French cavalry officers (9)
14 English admiral, nicknamed 'Old Grog' (6)
15 ___ Swinton, British army officer responsible for the development of the tank during World War I (6)
17 Area of northern Europe fought over by Sweden and Denmark in the late 17th century (6)
20 Edward ___, Parliamentary commander who defended Gloucester when besieged in September 1643 (6)
24 Battle of Lake ___, a defeat for Great Britain during the War of 1812 (9)
26 Battle in September 1792, when French troops led by Dumouriez and Kellerman defeated a combined army of Prussians and Austrians (5)
27 Thomas ___, commander of the English archers at Agincourt (9)
28 Northern Irish port, an important naval base in both World Wars (5)
29 Enemy of Venice during a series of conflicts in the 12th and 13th centuries (5)
30 Small explosive device thrown by hand or launched by mechanical means (7)

DOWN

1 Brother of Kublai Khan, whose army sacked Baghdad in 1258 (6)
2 World War II aircraft carrier-based fighter built by Supermarine (7)
3 Ship of which Nelson was captain from 1793 to 1796, later present at Trafalgar and Copenhagen (9)
4 Armoured car which entered service with the British army in 1959 (7)
6 Charles Antony ___, the Scots Guards, awarded the Victoria Cross posthumously for action in North Africa in 1943 (5)
7 ___ Rifles, a British army volunteer regiment raised in London in 1859 (7)
8 Ancient warship with two tiers of oars (6)
11 Surname used by Lawrence of Arabia when he enlisted in the RAF in 1922 (4)
16 American Civil War battle, a defeat for the Confederate army of General Hood in December 1864 (9)
18 John ___, Field Marshal, Chief of the General Staff from 1988 to 1992 (7)
19 Attack helicopter built by Boeing (6)
20 Huge 15th-century cannon on display at Edinburgh Castle (4,3)
21 Ancient kingdom in the Balkans, conquered by Rome in 168 BC (7)
22 City besieged by the Crusaders in 1189 (4)
23 Roman city in North Africa, where Jews revolted in 73 and 117 AD (6)
25 British military slang for a soldier (5)

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Now you can have your opinions on everything *MHM* heard online as well as in print. Follow us on **Twitter@ MilHistMonthly**, or take a look at our Facebook page for daily news, books, and article updates at **www.facebook.com/MilitaryHistoryMonthly**.

Think you have spotted an error? Disagree with a viewpoint? Enjoying the mag? Visit **www.military-history.org** to post your comments on a wide range of different articles. Alternatively send an email to *feedback@military-history.org*.

ADD US NOW and have your say

CAPTION COMPETITION

We continue our online caption competition with an image from our Coming Soon section. Pit your wit against *MHM* readers at **www.military-history.org/competitions**.

WINNER:

Has the loss of your eye affected the relationship between you and your men in any way?
- Before the accident, they acknowledged my orders with an 'Aye, aye sir!' Now it's just, 'Aye!'

Joe Agius

RUNNERS-UP:

Yul Brynner couldn't believe no-one had noticed when he won first prize in a Yul Brynner lookalike competition.
Shirley Burnett

I'm very glad you've patched it up, lads!
R K Emery

Think you can do better?

Log onto ***www.military-history.org/competitions*** to enter the next CAPTION COMPETITION. Flex your funny bone and be in with a chance of getting your caption published in the next issue of *Military History Monthly*!

ANSWERS **MAY ISSUE | MHM32**

ACROSS 7 Bosnia, 8 Aberdeen, 10 Malplaquet, 11 Hess, 12 Bear, 13 Ian Fleming, 14 Battery, 17 Assyria, 19 Chelmsford, 22 West, 24 Alma, 25 Wainwright, 26 New Delhi, 27 Cohort.
DOWN 1 Zouave, 2 Sniper, 3 Cavalier, 4 Saturn, 5 Keitel, 6 Helsinki, 9 Dahomey, 15 Achilles, 16 Tallard, 18 Sedgwick, 20 Sewell, 21 Osiris, 22 Wright, 23 Sahara.

Flying aircraft-carriers

Above USS *Akron*'s maiden voyage on 2 November 1931.

It might sound a bit like a science-fiction fantasy, but during the early 1930s the United States Navy actually operated two airships that were capable of launching biplanes. The experiment ultimately ended in disaster, with the catastrophic loss not only of both airships but also of the admiral who had been the leading light of the project.

Airships had previously been used as long-range bombers by the German Navy, targeting London and the east coast of England from bases on the continent between 1915 and 1918. Large, slow-moving, and filled with highly flammable hydrogen gas, the Zeppelins were extremely vulnerable to fighter aircraft, and so were forced operate at high altitudes, out of the fighters' range. However, this made accurate bombing impossible, rendering them obsolete by the end of the war.

Airships could stay aloft for days on end and cover thousands of miles, making them ideal scouting vessels. The American Navy realised that if the airships could be adapted to carry fighter aircraft, they would be able to defend themselves from enemy attack too. So they set about improving the Zeppelin's design to suit their purposes.

> In February 1935, *Macon*'s upper tail fin sheared off, puncturing the airship.

Built by the Goodyear-Zeppelin Corporation, the USS *Akron* was 'launched' in 1931, followed by her sister ship, the USS *Macon*, in 1933. Instead of hydrogen, they were filled with helium, a rare noble gas that is inert and therefore not a fire hazard. While the hull was strengthened thanks to a deep-ring design, the tail was made lighter, and the stabiliser fins then attached to it. This was to be a crucial design flaw.

At 239m long, the Zeppelins were a similar length to a Yorktown Class aircraft-carrier, and could transport four or five Curtiss Sparrowhawk fighter biplanes. Powered by eight 560hp petrol engines, and with a cruising speed of 50 knots, they had a range of 10,580 nautical miles. In May 1932, *Akron* successfully launched, and recovered Sparrowhawks on several occasions, using an ingenious trapeze system.

Controlling the *Akron* proved rather more challenging. In April 1933 she encountered severe weather off the coast of New England, and was battered by strong gusts of wind. In attempting to fly upwards with the ship's nose in the air, the pilot inadvertently allowed the vulnerable tail to strike the water, tearing off the lower fin. She fell into the Atlantic, and, without life jackets or rafts, all but three of the crew drowned or died of hypothermia. Among them was Admiral William A Moffett, widely known as 'the Air Admiral' and a key advocate of the airship programme.

Launched in the same month the *Akron* was lost, the USS *Macon* participated in naval exercises, including a publicity stunt involving the heavy cruiser *Houston*, which was bringing President Roosevelt back from a trip to Hawaii.

Macon's fortunes were reversed in February 1935, when once again the flimsy tail proved its downfall. Flying off California, she was caught in a storm. The upper tail fin, weakened from a previous buffeting, sheared off, puncturing the airship. She drifted gently down from a height of nearly 1,400m, and settled on the sea. This time two crew-members died, and with them, the US Navy's airship experiment.

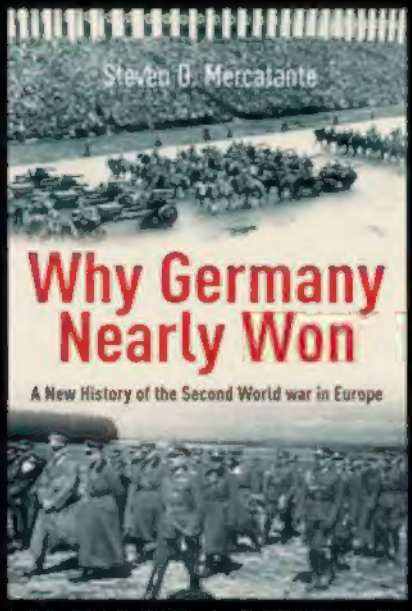
Below A photo-enhanced version of USS *Macon* flying over New York Harbor, probably soon after its 'launch' in 1933.

NEW FROM CASEMATE

"THOUGHT-PROVOKING"

"LIKELY TO CHANGE PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS"

"MERCATANTE'S ARGUMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS ARE TOO WELL SUPPORTED TO BE IGNORED"



"STEVEN MERCATANTE MAKES A NEW AND COMPELLING CASE"

"MERCATANTE KNOWS THAT THE DEVIL IS IN THE DETAILS"

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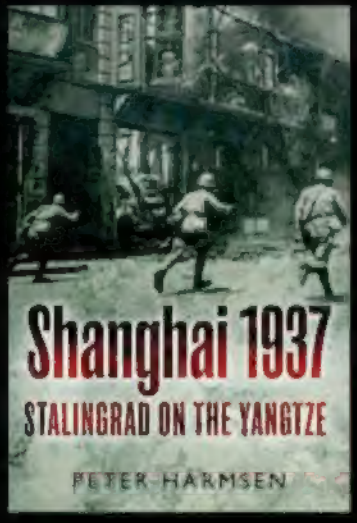

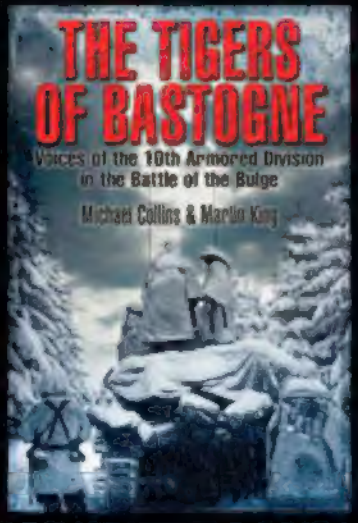

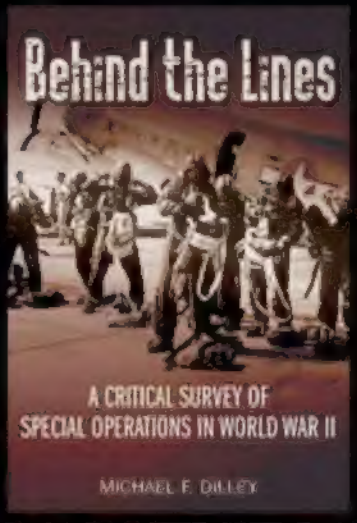

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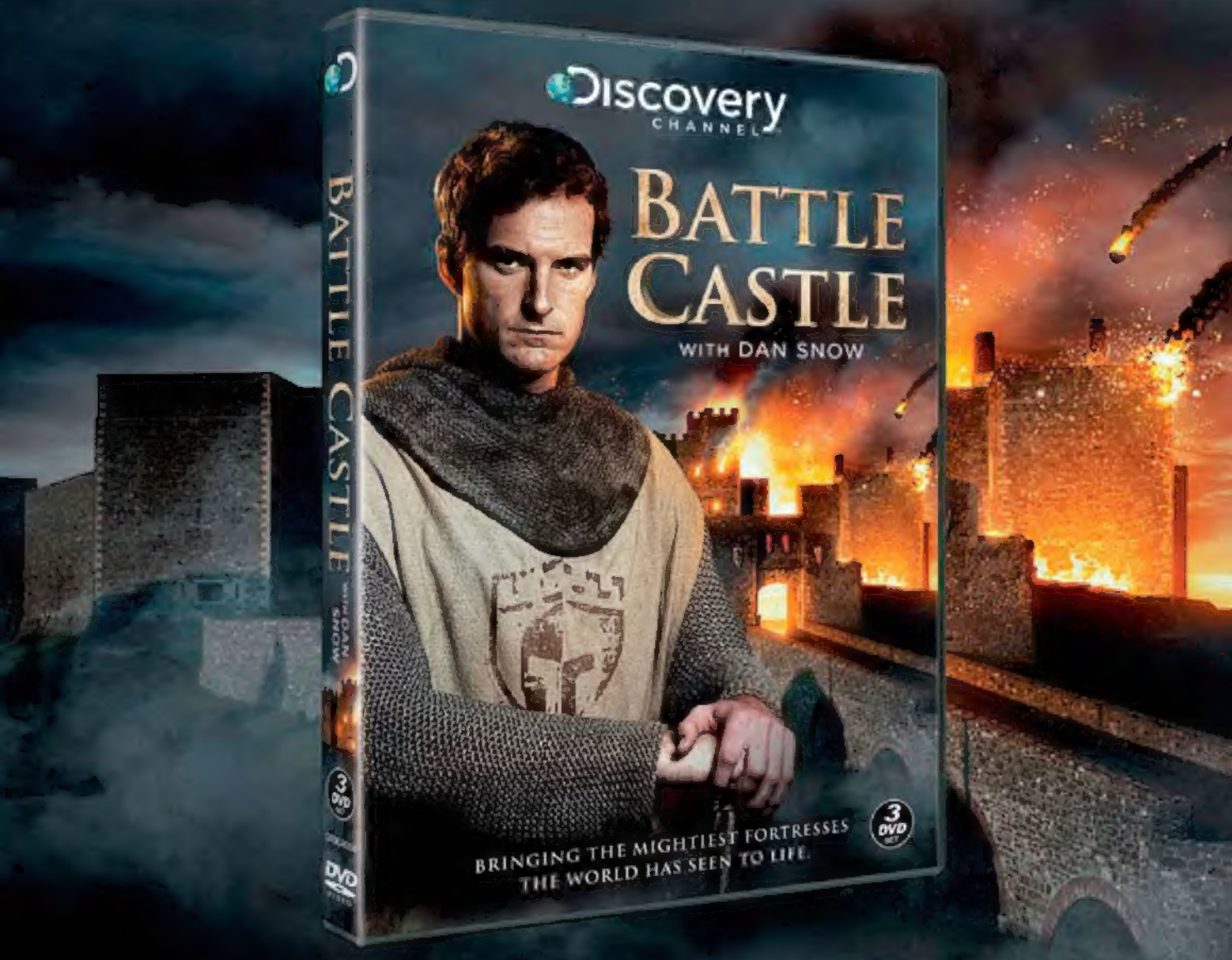

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